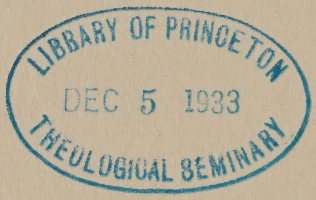

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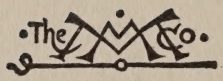
THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES AND THE INDUSTRIAL CRISIS



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The Protestant Churches and the Industrial Crisis

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BY

EDMUND B. CHAFFEE, B.D., J.D.

DIRECTOR OF LABOR TEMPLE
NEW YORK CITY

With a Foreword by
HENRY SLOANE COFFIN

NEW YORK
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1933

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DEDICATED TO

BISHOP FRANCIS J. MCCONNELL

OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

Wise, clear-seeing and fearless prophet of the social justice inherent in the Christian gospel.

FOREWORD

BEHIND this book is a valiant ministry of fifteen years among folk seldom found in any church. Mr. Chaffee brought to his task a well-trained scholarly mind, social passion, and a resolute faith in the Gospel of Christ. He has exercised a notable ministry of reconciliation, commending the Christian Church and Gospel to hostile or indifferent social radicals, and interpreting to the churches the aspirations of class-conscious workers. He knows at first hand the various and often bitterly rival sects into which this section of the city's population is divided, and has sought to understand their diverse points of view.

This book contains Mr. Chaffee's social application of his Christian creed. It has not been arrived at in leisurely thought on an academic campus, but through toilsome years on the thronged East Side of New York. It treats a number of topics in the realms of economics and politics on which men of equally Christian consciences differ in judgment. But whether or not the reader agrees with Mr. Chaffee's opinions, he will be impressed with the moderation, the sanity

and the invariably Christian spirit in which he writes. Desiring Christian solutions of social problems, he believes that they can be attained only by Christian means. Therefore he repudiates violence, whether in the form of war or of class conflict. He insists that in Christ we discover not only the vision of the ideal commonwealth but the way to its establishment. He is open-eyed to the menace in present conditions, and sees disaster if they are allowed to continue. He faces churchmen with questions which demand answers today, and not on some tomorrow. Catastrophe awaits our American Protestant Christianity if we in this day are blind to the perils in our economic and industrial life. Mr. Chaffee's final chapter is a masterly treatment of the method and manner in which the Gospel should be set forth to redeem our social ills.

HENRY SLOANE COFFIN.

INTRODUCTION

About four years ago a group of the younger men in the Christian ministry began meeting together to discuss how best they could make their religion apply to the problems actually faced by the men and women of this day and generation. As these discussions went on it became increasingly evident that the greatest obstacle to Christian faith and practice is found in the expressed and implied paganism of modern society, particularly in its economic aspects. The new machine technique which has so transformed life in the last two centuries has gotten far out of hand. Instead of blessing life it has at many points been a curse, a menace to human happiness and human values. It threatens to destroy all that we hold dear by the catastrophic calamity of world war or to paralyze our civilization by the almost as cruel tragedy of unemployment. It divides men into classes, those who own the tools of production and those who labor with them; and constant injustice grows out of this basic fact. Today, thanks to our astounding technological development, we can now produce enough and more than

enough for all. It is necessary only that life be organized to that end. How to bring this about is the problem which for the present dwarfs all others.

With a realization of this fundamental fact there came to this group of younger churchmen the conviction that a religion which has no word to utter in such a crisis as that which began in 1929 was useless, indeed that it might be worse than useless as tending to obscure the vital issue of the age. They saw that it might be, as the Russian government claims, an opiate for the common people. This has led to much searching of heart and finally to the clear conviction that religion and especially the Christian faith does have an economic message. And coupled with this conviction there has come another: that those who proclaim the Christian faith must declare that message or they would do better to keep silent in this day of industrial crisis.

The following chapters are an attempt to give voice to that message, to state the philosophy which undergirds the Protestant churches as they grapple with the paganism of our industrial and social order. Our churches have been confused as to their responsibility in this field and it is this spiritual and mental confusion as to their precise function which has lessened their influence and their power. It is hoped that these pages may be

some contribution toward the development of an adequate philosophy for the Protestant churches at this point.

It was originally intended to make this book a symposium with various members of the Conference of Younger Churchmen taking part in it, but it was finally decided that the undersigned should write it with the privilege of drawing freely upon the thought of the group. He hereby acknowledges his debt to them and especially to the Rev. John C. Bennett, the Rev. Merrill Clarke, the Rev. Phillips Elliott, the Rev. Buel Gallagher, the Rev. Edward Kennedy, the Rev. William E. Kroll, the Rev. Cameron Hall, the Rev. Roswell P. Barnes, the Rev. Russell Clinchy and the Rev. Henry S. Leiper, who submitted papers or otherwise discussed carefully the problems involved. While acknowledging the great debt owed to all these men who are so alive to the present crisis he would make clear that he personally must assume full responsibility for all this book contains. He believes, however, that he has been faithful to the ideals and spirit of the men who have inspired this volume. It must also be said that he has drawn freely upon his twelve years at Labor Temple, New York City, where the Presbyterian Church is seeking to interpret the Christian message to the industrial workers. It is all offered to the churches and to the public

as some evidence that an increasing number of churchmen are alive to the religious and ethical implications of the industrial crisis which has so shaken the foundations of modern life and thought.

EDMUND B. CHAFFEE.

May 1, 1933.

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THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES AND THE INDUSTRIAL CRISIS

CHAPTER I

WHAT HAS RELIGION TO DO WITH ECONOMICS?

THE increasing concern of religious organizations and religious leaders with economic and political questions is bitterly resented in many quarters. Attacks upon the "Federal Council" and other agencies of the churches for such so-called "meddling" have been frequent and vigorous. The report on the steel strike a decade ago was the signal for the pouring of vials of wrath upon the churches responsible for it. Churches and clergymen are denounced for advocating disarmament. They are criticized for upholding the right of the workers to organize. They are held up to ridicule for their battle against the liquor traffic. Some of this criticism is easily explained. Most naturally armament manufacturers do not like disarmament talk, employers do not like the assertion of the right to organize, and those who live by the liquor traffic do not relish the manufacture of public sentiment hostile to it. Much of the attack upon the churches for their

concern with economic and political questions is directly due to the fact that the critics do not like the attitude taken by the spokesmen for religion on the various questions involved. But this is not all. There is also generally present the assumption that the churches and their leaders have no business to say anything or do anything about economic and social questions. The churches are not criticized so much for what they say about these economic issues. They are criticized primarily because they say anything. It is said and believed by a host of well meaning people that "the churches have no right to dabble in business matters." It is the definite opinion of a considerable group of folk both within and without our churches that religion is purely a personal matter with no relation whatsoever to the great economic, social and political questions which perplex our age. Until this presupposition is removed from the minds of a good many intelligent and well meaning people it is idle to ask what is the responsibility of the church for social and industrial matters. The answer of not a few will be that there is no responsibility. And yet it is obvious our churches will not get far in their social programs until there is a clear recognition on the part of church leadership and church membership that there is some connection between the religious life and everyday life in the world of indus-

try. The thought expressed by Spengler in his "Decline of the West" too often lurks in the background of the minds of many earnest churchmen. They feel as he puts it: "Religion is, first and last, metaphysic, other-worldliness." And again, "To ascribe social purposes to Jesus is a blasphemy." And even more pointedly, "A sociologist-preacher who tries to bring truth, righteousness, peace and forgiveness into the world of actuality is a fool." Now unless it can be made clear that there is a real and vital relationship between the religious life and the economic life the churches will be able to play no effective rôle in bringing in that industrial justice, peace and plenty for which the whole world yearns. It is useless and futile to talk of what the church ought to do unless there is agreement that some action is demanded. Why then is there an ever increasing number of church leaders who are so aroused about the duty of the church in the industrial crisis now upon us? Upon what grounds is their conviction based that the church does have a clear and definite responsibility to aid in solving the economic issue facing our modern world? We shall try to state them.

Any careful consideration of this subject will reveal that the present divorcement in our thought between religion and economics is a modern development. It was not always so. Indeed, in

primitive society economics and religion were so blended that it was impossible to tell where one began and the other ended. Frazer's "Golden Bough," that classic portrayal of primitive rites and customs, bears eloquent testimony to the close intimate contact between men's religion and their economic life. When man was a hunter his gods had intimate relation to the hunt and the chase. When he learned to keep flocks and herds his religious observances were bound up with this mode of life. When he learned to sow and reap, his gods and goddesses were bound up with the processes of agriculture. All over the ancient world the great goddess of fertility was worshipped sometimes as Ashtar, sometimes as Ishtar, sometimes as Venus. Though the name might change, the goddess of fertility was worshipped because she was thought of as bringing the increase of the earth and the life upon it. Religious rites were directed also toward the control of the rain and the sun. Among the ancient Mayas in Yucatan, maidens were thrown into the sacred well in order that the rain god might be appeased. In ancient Egypt Osiris was thought of not merely as a god of the dead but as a corn god and a god of fertility. The great religious festivals were tied up definitely to critical phases in the economic life. Religious aspiration reached its highest levels at the time of the sowing and reaping. We have a

survival of this feeling in our own American festival of Thanksgiving. This is the harvest time but it was, in its inception at least, a time of deep religious quickening. The "Encyclopædia Britannica" thus sums up the original attitude in its article on Religion: "His religion is, however, anything but an abstraction to the savage, and stands rather for the whole of his concrete life so far as it is penetrated by a spirit of earnest endeavor. The end and result of primitive religion, is, in a word, the consecration of life, the stimulation of the will to live and to do."

Countless incidents in the Hebrew scriptures give further evidence of this attitude. The story of Cain and Abel deals with the question of who can make the best sacrifice, the shepherd or the farmer. Irrespective of the answer, the assumption is clear that the economic life must be consecrated to deity. The children of Israel were constantly relapsing from the true worship of Jehovah to the worship of the false Baals. This was the ever-present cry of the prophets, but it must be remembered that those Baals were worshipped because they were conceived of as being the gods of the land having control over the crops upon it. There was a complete tie-up in the thought of the people between the daily economic process and their religion. The only question was as to what deity could best help. The whole con-

ception of a holy city is simply the logical extension of the thought that there is no line to be drawn between religion and the everyday life of the people.

It is thus apparent that for primitive man and the nations of antiquity there was no dividing line between economics and religion. Our prevalent present attitude that the two are separate and distinct has developed in very modern times, for even in the Middle Ages there was not this division. The change has come largely since the founding of the American republic with its insistence on the separation of church and state. Now it has become difficult for multitudes to see any connection between their religion and the everyday problems of making a living. While most of us would support this American principle of keeping our religious organizations distinct from our government, that principle has been gradually interpreted to mean a complete divorce between the things of the spirit and the things of the body. This is a doctrine which true religion cannot tolerate, for this would condemn religion to the realm of abstractions and futility. It may well be that the machinery for the carrying out of the purposes of these two phases of life can best be kept separate, but it must always be remembered that they are phases of the same life. Our present deplorable corruption in government

and the injustices of our industrial order are at bottom due to the fact that ethical religion has been excluded from any effective contact with the economic life of men. Our politics have become a scandal and our economic life has broken down primarily for this reason. And by the same process our religious life has suffered as much. Its separation from the everyday life of factory, farm and office has made it unreal in its appeal and blind in its ethical insight. Not until the religious see clearly the close and vital connection between the things of the spirit and the things of the market place, can we have a religion vibrant with life and a market place which does not defile him who enters it.

But, not only does the long history of religion bear testimony to the close and vital contact of religion and the economic life, modern psychological study points in the same direction. This science is making it abundantly clear that man is a unit. He cannot be arbitrarily divided even into body and mind. Such close interrelation is there that no clear line can be drawn between them. Psychology, too, is teaching us the large part our desires play in our reasoning. Rationalization has become a more blessed word than Mesopotamia! When we function we function as human beings. Whether we will it or not our whole selves are in everything we do. We cannot divide life into

compartments. It has been the fashion of economists for generations to talk of the economic man, that is, the man who always carefully calculated just how much he could get out of every transaction. He was the man who invariably sold in the dearest market and just as invariably bought in the cheapest. And there was the religious man about whom the theologians talked. These were thought of as separate and distinct and never the twain did meet. But all this our psychologists today know is an illusion. The economic man is simply man with his whole self making, distributing, owning, buying and selling. The religious man is simply man with his whole self facing the eternal problems of life and destiny, seeking to be at one with the basic forces of the universe. It is futile and wrong to seek to divide our lives into the religious and the economic unless we see that this is an abstraction for the sake of better understanding. It is because we have forgotten that all this was merely an abstraction for the sake of our own convenience that ethical religion has made so little progress in the workaday world. And it is because of this same blindness that our economists have not proved more capable of diagnosing and prescribing for our economic ailments. They have forgotten certain human values and attitudes which religion might have taught them. History and science alike both point clearly to the close

and vital relationship which exists between them.

But there are more than these historical and psychological considerations. They may seem theoretical and far removed. It is instructive to see that the most practical considerations also bear testimony to the necessary connection of religion and the deep issues arising out of industry. The plain fact is that the majority of the men and women in our churches are compelled to labor for their daily bread. They must have an interest in the economic problem, for it is their problem. The grave issues of unemployment, wages, hours and all the rest are the issues that the average church member faces day in and day out. They are of the deepest concern to him. The church organizations to which these millions of men and women belong must as a practical matter give some help to the men and women who face these economic issues. The church cannot ignore the vital concern of the overwhelming majority of its membership. To be indifferent to these issues which are so vital to its membership will in the long run lose the confidence of that membership. Already in some of our churches there are signs that this very result is taking place. Surely the church which proclaims brotherhood cannot be indifferent to the economic insecurity which threatens nine-tenths of its membership. To do so

makes its teachings clanging brass and a tinkling cymbal.

Furthermore, it must never be forgotten that the Christian church is seeking to make Christ-like men and women. It is striving to redeem men from greed and lust and pride and selfishness. It seeks to achieve this redemption by teaching and preaching and by helpful ministry. Yet when every activity of the church is considered, the actual amount of time that the average church member is in contact with his church is pitifully small. He may be in church an hour on Sunday and possibly another hour some time during the week. In that hour or two he may hear the finest ideal proclaimed, he may be inspired and helped toward the good life. But then that man must go out into the actual world we face today. He must spend most of his waking hours in the industrial process. In that world he finds a different code. He finds there that it is considered a virtue to make all that he can for himself. In that world he finds that greed, if it be not too raw, is commended, that the men who have the most of it succeed and are admired. In that world he hears little about brotherhood and experiences less. Inevitably he comes to the conclusion that the commandment of the Lord proclaimed in the church "to do justly, to love kindness, to walk humbly" is merely pretty sentiment. He may continue to

go to church because of long habit, but he dismisses the ideals proclaimed from the pulpit as valueless for practical living. He does this because he sees that men in the world of business and politics get ahead with little thought of justice. He sees that the great masses of the people receive little kindness from those who command them and he sees that the world sets little store by humility. In a word the everyday life of a man or woman in our industrial world and our economic set-up negatives the ideal the church exists to further. And what chance has the church in this situation? The answer is, very little. It cannot in an hour or two each week offset what is ground into its membership from eight to ten hours each day in the round of the daily task and suggested to them nearly all the rest of their waking hours.

The church has an impossible task as society is now constituted. The industrial order founded and organized upon selfishness so holds us in its grip that the preaching and teaching of our churches can scarcely make a dent upon our conduct. It must be obvious that the church can make little progress in transforming the lives of men from lives of greed to lives of service unless it can modify those influences which now surround them most of their conscious hours. This means that an attack must be made upon the economic conditions that today breed selfishness and despair. Our

churches must realize, and that right soon, that religion must come into all aspects of life or it will soon be crowded out of every part of it.

But there are still further reasons why our churches cannot be indifferent to the burning economic issues of our day. The Christian church is committed to a social ideal. Turn to the oldest Gospel, that of Mark, and in the very opening chapter, as Jesus first appears on the scene, the writer sums up the message in these words: "Jesus came preaching the good news of the Kingdom of God." Most of the parables, the stories, that he told were stories told to describe various aspects of that Kingdom. His message could be summed up in the words, "Seek first the Kingdom of God and his righteousness and all else shall be added unto you." The church was organized primarily to bring in this Kingdom. This was the ideal committed to it by Jesus. This ideal was taken over from the Hebrew prophets in whose line of succession Jesus felt himself to be. Indeed it was older even than that, for it was found all through the ancient world as the great hope of the masses that one day the slave would be freed and the poor would have justice done with peace and plenty for all. But we must note that this Kingdom as proclaimed by Jesus, even as it was proclaimed by his great forerunners, was not something far away in the sky. It was, as Jesus

taught it, something that was to come upon this earth when men really obeyed the laws of their existence. Jesus in this sense was this-worldly. The prayer he taught his disciples makes that abundantly clear. He said, "Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven." Jesus was seeking a new social order in the actual world of living men. The church then, if it is to be true to Jesus its founder, must take an interest in the social order and the redemption of it. In a very real sense it has that as its primary task. In the great sermon at Nazareth Jesus took his text from Isaiah, that flaming prophet of social righteousness: "The spirit of the Lord is upon me because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor, he hath sent me to heal the broken hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord." This, as we would say today, was his platform and it is that platform which he has committed to those who would count themselves his followers. To say that there is no responsibility of the church for the industrial order in which it finds itself is nothing short of treason to Jesus.

But lest we be misunderstood at this point, let it be made clear that this is in no sense to assert that Jesus did not preach a message to the indi-

vidual. Of course he did. Those who would emphasize this are right. But he struck this social note just as clearly, and any Christianity which neglects one to the exclusion of the other is lopsided and will in the end be futile. We cannot have the Kingdom of God, which is to say we cannot have an economic order based upon love and service, unless the individuals composing it base their lives upon love and service. And it is just as true that there is little likelihood of having really Christ-like men and women if they are compelled to live and make their living in a pagan society. The obligation is upon the church to strive to save both.

Thus far in pointing out the close kinship which exists and must exist between religion and economics we have been dealing with considerations which, while real, can be perceived only by directing our thought toward them. The fact that religion and economics have been historically closely bound together can be seen only by looking at history and especially the history of primitive religion. The basic fact too that the religious man and the economic man are pure abstractions, that man brings the all of himself into the various parts of life needs to be set forth by the psychologist. Also we have to remind ourselves that two or three hours a week given over to religion and its idealism can have little effect upon a life lived

almost entirely under an industrial process which stresses other values and attitudes. These things are true, but we have to take time and give attention to perceive them. There is another reason for our assertion that religion must deal with our economic relationships and our industrial order, and that reason scarcely needs to be pointed out.

Those men and women in our churches who see no bearing of religion upon our economic problems are going to be rudely awakened from their dogmatic slumber. Religious institutions must deal with the economic problem whether they want to or not. Already the church is under deadly fire. We have seen what has happened in Russia where the church is practically an outlaw and religion a word of reproach just because religion assumed no responsibility for the economic degradation and the virtual slavery of the people. Because religion concerned itself merely with the world of the supernatural and allowed itself to be used to bolster up injustice, it has become a byword and a hissing. The Church is an outlaw in Russia today because it recognized no responsibility for the securing of economic justice. And much the same thing is happening in Mexico, where also we find the tides of irreligion running high. And again the cry is that the church and the religion it professes is standing in the way of the economic well-being of the people. Nor does

the story end with Russia and Mexico. There is the same kind of attack being made in Spain. There, too, the churches have been looted and destroyed. In Chile there is a rising tide of resentment against them. In many other parts of the world the same movement is under way. Men are seeing that our modern civilization is founded upon injustice and the exploitation of the masses, and they are demanding to know which side the church is on in the struggle. Out in the Orient Christian missions are under the heaviest attack because they are looked upon as the opening wedge for the capitalist as he seeks the economic subjugation of the people of the East. The recent Layman's Committee on Missions, which for a year or more has been studying Christian missions, has now rendered its report and that report points out that all religion is so under attack today that no time and energy should be used in criticizing non-Christian faiths. The church must take a stand on economic issues because the champions of industrial justice will not permit and ought not to permit it to remain neutral in the struggle.

Nor will the defenders of the *status quo,* the upholders of things as they are, permit the church to be indifferent. Today they too are uttering the harshest criticism. Whenever the churches make the slightest move to put their ideals into practice the guns of the privileged are turned upon them.

The steel strike investigation was bitterly denounced and financial support of the churches threatened. Congressmen rise on the floor of Congress to proclaim the inroads which Bolshevism is making in the churches. The Federal Council of Churches is the subject of denunciatory editorials because it dares to stand against the piling up of armaments, the cost of which inevitably comes out of the pockets of the masses. That organization is under constant fire from critics within the churches themselves for daring to meddle in economic and social questions. The churches are assailed today by two divergent groups, those who fear that they may help to destroy the special privileges which our economic order has built up and those who declare that religion bolsters up all these evils. Whether the religious institutions of our time want to take a stand upon these questions or not they are going to be compelled to do so. They are in much the same situation as a prominent American clergyman who was called to India to deliver a course of lectures upon religion and philosophy. As he neared India he was asked what he was going to say on the subject of Indian independence. "Why," he replied, "I hadn't planned on saying anything." His questioner fixed his eye on him for a moment and then said, "Man, you'd better." Such is the situation of our churches today. If they say they

aren't going to say anything about economics, about the injustices of our present industrial order, unemployment, poverty, faulty distribution of wealth and all these other terrific evils, the world is going to say, "You'd better."

A final consideration weighs heavily with many of us. It is obvious to all students of the subject now that our economic order has engendered frightful evils. It has brought us to the brink of catastrophe. According to one of the officials of the League of Nations there are one hundred million people in Europe and America who are in want because of unemployment. These things cannot continue. Already they have changed in various parts of the world. We have had the Russian Revolution; we have seen the march of the black shirts in Italy. We are seeing the rise of Hitlerism in Germany. These are but examples of what will probably become world wide. These movements have been accompanied by violence and widespread suffering. It may be that only thus can the necessary changes come, but there is at least a possibility that they may be brought about more peaceably. Religion whose primary appeal has always been to the conscience of men, has the opportunity to show a better way in the present crisis. The men, at least many of them, in our churches are influential. Some of them are the great captains of industry, our bankers and all the

other leaders of our present order. The church has the magnificent opportunity to make the appeal to their conscience and to the conscience of the rank and file of its membership to use a better way in bringing about the changes which sooner or later are inevitable. The churches should speak out on the great economic and social questions of our day, because their influence may be great enough to bring the needed changes without the tremendous losses inevitable through methods of violence. Our churches need to find a better way; they need to develop a better technique. It is barely possible that our churches, once thoroughly aroused upon the gravity of the economic problem and the vital bearing of religion upon it, may be able to bring the needed changes in our social order before it is too late and the decision taken to the field of violent revolution. Here is one of the greatest opportunities the religious institutions of the western world have ever had.

Has the church any responsibility for the righting of economic wrongs? In the old days in the Kingdom of Israel that question was faced. The great prophet Amos went up to the king's sanctuary and preached about the social wrongs of the people. The king, responsible for many of those evils, did not like that kind of preaching. Nor did the private priest whom he had subsidized like it either, and that priest, Amaziah, said, "O thou

seer, go flee away into the land of Judah and there eat bread and prophesy there. But prophesy not again any more at Bethel for it is the king's chapel and the king's court." Similar counsel is being given to our preachers today who see the vital connection between religion and economic justice and who have the courage to proclaim it. But like William Lloyd Garrison they will be heard. They know that the religion which turns aside from the task of freeing men from economic tyranny is not worthy the name of religion. They know that such religion is not the religion of the Hebrew prophets and Jesus, and they repudiate it no matter how much it may be sanctified by tradition or upheld by privilege.

CHAPTER II

JESUS AND THE INDUSTRIAL CRISIS

RELIGION and economics belong together and ought never to have been divorced. This separation is historically very modern but the consequences of it are already proving most disastrous. The economic order is breaking down through inherent ethical weakness, and religion has come to seem unreal because out of touch with the actual world of business and industry. Until religion can be brought out into this actual world of living men it will seem to multitudes but idle talk and an economic order solidly based on justice, and kindness will be impossible. Religion which has to do with man's total reaction to the universe can never respect "No Trespass" signs put up by any man or group of men to keep it from playing its part in meeting the industrial crisis which age-old evils and modern technology have brought to our world. Men may differ as to how religious organizations are to meet their responsibility in this day of economic change, but that they have a responsibility is clear. To ignore or

evade it will wreck the churches and set back the cause of religion for decades.

But religious organizations of the Christian inheritance face a formidable obstacle the moment they attempt to grapple with this economic problem. They are committed to the way of life proclaimed and exemplified in Jesus. They must inevitably ask, then, what Jesus had to say about economic issues. Yet the instant that question arises, difficulties gather like the clouds of an oncoming storm. There are those like Keable in "The Great Galilean," who declare categorically that we don't know enough about Jesus to fill up the few lines normally used by the New York *Times* in its obituary notices. Then there are those like Harry Elmer Barnes, who pour much scorn upon this practice of the Christian church of using Jesus as the standard. Such critics point out that Jesus' age was entirely different from ours. He lived in the comparatively simple world of agriculture. We live in the highly complex world of industry brought by the modern machine. Jesus, they say, was a Galilean peasant and had no slightest conception of the era into which we have come. Moreover, there are still other critics who say very frankly that even if Jesus did speak on questions of property, buying and selling and all the rest, his word would be of little value, because so many of his utterances have been proved

false. They tell us that Jesus believed that the sun went round the earth. They tell us that he believed in demon possession. They tell us that he believed that Moses wrote the Pentateuch and the world was nearing its end. All these things they say Jesus believed. He was wrong on these points and many others. They say science has proved him false. Why then should we look to him for guidance in facing our problems today?

These and other considerations are urged against all of us in the Christian churches who would seek for any light upon the economic problem of today from the life or teachings of Jesus. These are the criticisms, generally speaking, of those outside the church. We who believe that Jesus does give us guidance in this field have to reckon also with critics inside our churches. When we assert that the teachings and life of Jesus will help us today in grappling with that very economic problem which now threatens to wreck our whole western world, we are told by social conservatives in our churches that there was no social message in Jesus whatsoever. These men do not altogether like the revolutionary tendencies found in the gospels and they prefer to believe with Spengler that Jesus was fully and completely other-worldly, that his gospel was pure supernaturalism. Also oddly enough we have social radicals who are suspicious of the teachings of

Jesus because they believe he taught contentment. We are met too by the criticisms of the exponents of the interim ethic, those who say that Jesus, expecting the end of the world to be at hand, gave his counsels of perfection only because of that fact. One could give to him that asked and not turn away from the borrower because it didn't matter much if the end of the world was so imminent. Finally there are in our Christian churches not a few men and women who believe that Jesus is returning to this earth in person and in the not too distant future. Our economic and social order can never be raised above its present corruption until that happens. For this reason there is little to be gained by seeking to make things better now. It just can't be done. These men would maintain that the only responsibility the Christian church has for better economic and social conditions is to pray for Christ's speedy return to win individual men and women to him.

These are the most often heard criticisms of that growing body of men and women who believe in the "social gospel" and make it the passion of their lives. What reply can be made? We believe it can be complete and adequate. Possibly that reply has not always been sufficient. Today it can be made so for the increase of the knowledge of Jesus' own life and the background of his thought has afforded the material so long wanting. The

sheer logic of events, the industrial crisis itself, has made it doubly impressive. Let us sketch that reply and then let us point out specifically the value of the historical Jesus in the world crisis we now face.

First of all it must be pointed out that man has changed very little since the dawn of authentic history. He is substantially the same as he was in ancient Egypt, in Babylon, in Greece or in Rome. He is the same creature as he was in the time of Jesus. He has the same body, parts and passions. He faces the same basic problems. He has still the fundamental problem of securing his food and the other necessaries of life. There is still the same primary instinct of sex and all the problems that arise from it. There is still the same need of developing organizational forms for the life of men together. Those basic needs were the same in Jesus' day as in ours. It matters little that he lived 2,000 years ago in a comparatively simple agricultural world without the complications of our present-day civilization. At bottom the problems that he faced were the same. Dealing as he did with the most elementary issues of life and death, what he said and did about them are just as important to us as they were in his own day. His moral teachings partake of the universal and the eternal, just as great art and great music are independent of time and place.

Moreover the criticism that some of the conceptions of Jesus have been proved wrong by the science of our day does not prove so formidable on analysis. It is perfectly true that Jesus did not conceive of the world as the modern astronomer conceives of it. It is obvious that he accepted the practically universal thought of his day that many diseases and especially those of a mental nature were due to demons. He knew little of what we call psychiatry. Nor was he a modern critic who could separate out the various documents found in the Old Testament. He knew nothing of "J" and "E" and "D" and "P", the stock in trade of our Old Testament critics. Jesus believed with the men of his day that Moses wrote the books which go by his name. Also he believed that the world was nearing its end. This, too, was the thought of the men of his time. We can confidently affirm that he was mistaken in this, but it is most easy to understand that he should hold it. Jesus was not infallible in his knowledge of these extraneous matters. There is no indication that he assumed to be. These things were not essential and he came as an expert in but one field and that was the field of religion. Here he did assume to speak with authority and of him it was said that man never spake like him. Jesus did not hold himself out as an expert in history or literary criticism, astronomy or any other field of

human scholarship. He came announcing a message on the basic question of man's relation to the universe, to the creative spirit that has brought it into being and upon whose power it is dependent. He came, in other words, as a religious teacher and he interpreted religion to mean man's relationship to God and his relationship to his fellow men. It was in this province alone that he assumed to speak with authority. On this subject age after age and countless multitudes have held him supreme. He asked for supremacy in no other.

To those who say we don't know enough about Jesus to draw any conclusions as to what he actually taught no completely adequate reply can be made. The reason is obvious—there are varied opinions as to the authenticity of the documents which give us the story of Jesus and his ministry. However, it can now be confidently affirmed that the idea that Jesus never lived, that the whole Christ story is a myth is no longer given any credence by the ablest New Testament scholars. That we cannot know what he taught in all its completeness is of course true for the records are meagre. There is, however, enough of a record for any earnest seeker to discover the body of eternal truth applicable to all times and all places. There is enough of a record for the great Jewish scholar, Dr. Joseph Klausner, with access to the

sources and the power to use them, a scholar who certainly cannot be accused of bias in favor of Jesus, to use these closing words in his great work "Jesus of Nazareth":

"In his ethical code there is a sublimity, distinctiveness and originality in form unparalleled in any other Hebrew ethical code; neither is there any parallel to the remarkable art of his parables. The shrewdness and sharpness of his proverbs and his forceful epigrams serve, in an exceptional degree, to make ethical ideas a popular possession. If ever the day should come and this ethical code be stripped of its wrappings of miracles and mysticism, the Book of the ethics of Jesus will be one of the choicest treasures in the literature of Israel for all time." *

New Testament scholarship has now reached the point where it can be confidently affirmed that enough of Jesus' teaching is certain to know the principles and spirit of the ethical religion he taught.

Some years ago I asked a great scholar of India, an expert in the field of comparative religions, what there was in the Christian religion which was not found in any other. He replied at once, "The personality of Jesus." That answer is in keeping with the facts. It is this which distinguishes Christianity from all other religions. It is this which is the common characteristic of all varieties of Christianity. It is to the authority of Jesus that orthodox and heretic have alike

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appealed. The church in all ages has instinctively looked to the life and teachings of its founder as the final court. We who believe that religion and economics must be closely blended and specifically that the Christian church has a grave responsibility to face in the present crisis, must inevitably make our appeal to the head of that church, the towering figure of the Galilean carpenter. And we do make that appeal. We say that the message of Jesus was social. We do not deny that it was personal, too. Assuredly it was. But it was fully as social as it was personal. Jesus came preaching and the burden of his message was the good news of the Kingdom of God. We believe that social message is there in the record of the New Testament. We believe it is really there, not just read into it, because of our wishes and the lengthening shadows cast by a dying world order. We believe we are scientific in our attitude when we say that Jesus cannot be understood apart from the age in which he found himself and the people from whose loins he sprang. With historical perspective the life and mission of Jesus become understandable and meaningful. Let us point that out in more detail.

The history of the whole ancient world of which the Hebrew people were a part has become more clear in recent years. Archeological discoveries, deciphering of ancient monuments and writ-

ings, better knowledge of civilizations of Egypt and Babylon, Persia, Greece and Rome make it abundantly clear that these civilizations around the Mediterranean were almost as much of a cultural unity as Europe is today. Professor McCown in "The Genesis of the Social Gospel" points out the great social ideas that were as much a part of their mental background as evolution is of ours. All through that ancient world there was the ever-present hope that some day a golden age was coming. People of all classes were convinced that some day a new era would dawn. They believed that this glad new time would mean the end of war; they believed that it would be an age of plenty; they believed that it would be an age of justice. This was the first great social idea found throughout the ancient world. It was accompanied by a second. This golden age, this new day, would be ushered in by a divine deliverer. They believed that some day a perfect prince would arise who would bring in that glad time which the prophets had foretold. And, as McCown makes clear, there was a third soul-stirring idea burning in the hearts of the men of that ancient world. They believed that there was going to come a great social levelling. They believed that some day the poor would become rich and the mighty ones would be brought low.

The Hebrew people were part of that ancient

world. Inevitably these three ideas were in their minds, too. But among them they were intensified, intensified not only by the bitter experience through which they had passed as a nation, but intensified also by the great nomadic tradition which was theirs. Their forefathers had been men of the desert. They had those ideals of the desert, the rugged simplicity, the equality and the freedom which goes with the life of the nomad. It was natural, it was almost inevitable that Israel should become a nation vibrant with the power of a social hope. This hope of the ancient world that a golden age was coming became among the Hebrews the great vision of the Kingdom of God; the expected divine deliverer who was to usher in this Kingdom they called the Messiah, and to them the poor are the righteous and the rich are the wicked. These three ideas are present all through their scriptures. The prophet Joel exclaims:

"It shall come to pass in that day that the mountains shall drip wine and the hills shall flow with milk. . . ."

Dozens of other passages proclaim the plenty to come. And Isaiah stresses the justice to be established, saying:

"He will faithfully set forth justice; he will not fail nor be discouraged till he has established justice on the earth, till the isles wait for his laws."

And what Christian does not know the great passage in Isaiah which so nobly embodies the messianic hope:

"Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given: and the government shall be upon his shoulder; and his name shall be called, Wonderful, Counsellor, Mighty God, The Everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace. Of the increase of his government and of peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David and upon his Kingdom to establish it and to uphold it with justice and with righteousness from henceforth even forever."

Moreover, the idea of a great social levelling stands out in passage after passage. To quote the psalmist:

"The Lord pours contempt upon princes and makes them wander in a pathless waste till they grow few and are bowed down under restraint, adversity and affliction. But he lifts the needy up out of his woes and makes their families like a flock."

The day of the Lord proclaimed by the prophets and sung by psalmists was to be a day of rejoicing for the poor. It was to mean a great social levelling.

Now it must never be forgotten that these were the ideas which Jesus inherited. He read them in the prophets; he sang them in the psalms; he was fired by them as they were expressed in the apocalypses, those imaginative writings which so moved the people. These ancient revolutionary

ideas were reinforced in the thinking of Jesus by the old nomadic tradition of the Hebrew people which so stressed the ideals of simplicity, equality and kindness. It was these ideas which were in the minds of the masses to whom Jesus preached. It was out of these ideas that his message grew. Indeed, that message cannot be understood apart from them. When he talked of the Kingdom of God his hearers understood the golden age when all should have enough and justice should be done; when he talked of the Messiah they thought of the mighty deliverer who was to usher in this glad day; when he talked of the poor being fed they thought of the poor whose life had been a living hell down through the ages. Jesus came bringing them the good news that the Kingdom was at hand, the golden age was dawning.

But a realistic approach to the actual message of Jesus demands more than a knowledge of the historical background of his people. It is not enough to know the dominant ideas of that ancient world we have been considering. We must know, too, the world situation of Jesus' own day. His message cannot be understood apart from that. The clue to what he did and what he taught is found in the concrete political and economic situation he faced. Let us glance at that situation.

The Jewish nation in the time of Jesus was in

bondage to Rome. In fact, that rapacious empire controlled most of the then known world. A few thousand nobles lived upon the labor of millions of subject slaves. They ruled by pitiless military might and by cleverly allying themselves with the ruling class of each subject nation. The Jewish nation like the other nations of the world of that day had fallen victim to this predatory power. In the year 6 A.D. Judea was annexed to the Roman province of Syria. In the year 70 A.D. Jerusalem and its temple were destroyed and thousands of Jewish patriots massacred. Jesus was crucified in 29 A.D. Thus his life fell within this period of acute tension between Jewish patriots and Roman rulers. The people writhed under the rule of this alien power. They hated it and the Jewish leaders who had not aligned themselves with Roman officials for the sharing of the plunder hated it too. It was a time peculiarly hard for the poor. The Roman Empire following its many wars had introduced an era of prosperity throughout the lands bordering the Mediterranean, but this prosperity did not benefit the lower classes nor the nations unable to meet world competition. Prices were rising; luxury and poverty were increasing together. The farmers and the artisans were in dire straits. Particularly did the people suffer from taxation, for they had to pay high for the privileges of empire. These taxes were levied on the

principle laid down by one of the emperors who said they followed the policy of the shepherd who fleeced the sheep but did not skin them. On top of these Roman taxes the Jewish people had their own temple taxes which were levied quite without reference to the Roman demands. These religious exactions equalled two-tenths each year and gifts, offerings and sacrifices in addition. It is no wonder that excavations made in 1921 showed the homes of these ancient Jewish lowly with rooms so small that one could almost span them with outstretched arms. The masses of Jesus' day had abundant cause for the bitterest dissatisfaction. These were in truth evil days. The ugly fact of Rome was seared into the very souls of all. What could be done about it?—was the question on the lips of all who dared speak, and in the minds of all the rest. It was this question of Rome which every leader and teacher had to meet.

It was on this question that the various parties and sects of the Jewish people were divided. There were the Essenes, who would solve the problem by separating themselves from the rest of the people in communist colonies. There were the Pharisees who would dodge the question by the psychological expedient of withdrawing into a world of their own, looking for a miraculous deliverance from the might of Rome. There were the Herodians and Sadducees, who would make

peace with Rome and the Greek culture it brought because such seemed the easier and more profitable way. And finally there were the Zealots, who would fight it out with the sword. Such were the current answers to the great issue of the day, an issue which overshadowed all others in that Palestinian land 2,000 years ago as the economic issue overshadows all others with us today.

The historical facts are clear. Jesus was well aware of the literature and tradition of his own people. He, too, resented this fearful Roman oppression which bore down so heavily upon them. Like them he, too, faced the question—What then shall we do? It is inconceivable that the multitudes should have followed him and listened to him unless he had some answer to make to this central problem. And he did have an answer. It was not the answer of the Essenes who would take themselves bodily out of the struggle. It was not the answer of the Pharisees who would escape within themselves. Nor would he bow down and submit to Roman might and the enervating luxury of the Greek-Roman civilization and profit by it as the Sadducees and the Herodians were doing. Nor could he, much as he must have admired the patriotism and courage of the Zealots, give himself to armed rebellion against the tyranny. The stories of his temptations are the allegorical accounts of his struggle to find the

answer to the Roman problem. Nor must we forget that as he wrestled with this problem in all the tenseness of that historical crisis, he mingled with it that amazing awareness of God which we can no more explain than we can explain the genius of Phidias or Shakespeare. Out of this mighty spiritual struggle there came to Jesus a solution, a solution borne to him on the fiery wings of spiritual exaltation. He saw that this Jewish-Roman problem was far more than the Jewish-Roman question; it was the problem of the ages. It was but one special case of the universal human problem. Deeper than the question of how to get the Romans off the backs of the Jews, the question of how to overthrow this particular tyranny was the question of how to overthrow all tyranny. He saw that the basic question was how to get rid of that desire in the nature of men that makes them want to exploit others, to live at their expense, to dominate over them. He saw how futile it was to overthrow Roman oppression if men still retained the desire and the lust to oppress. He saw that unless this basic urge was sublimated it would be only a question of time until new masters arose and slavery would persist as before. He saw the issue clearly, more clearly probably than any man had ever seen it before. He had what seemed to him, an absolute insight into the nature of the human heart and the very universe

itself. He saw that it was only as men could come to love one another that oppression would cease, not merely for once in one land and age but in all lands and in all ages. He saw that it was only thus that the golden age for which humanity had so passionately longed could come. He saw that it was only thus that the poor could be redeemed and there be justice and plenty for all. It was because he had found the way and knew that he had found the way that he felt himself to be the promised Messiah.

How natural then, it seems, that we should read in Mark, the earliest of the gospels, that Jesus came preaching the good news of the Kingdom of God. He came saying the time is at hand; it is here. How natural then that we read in Luke that when he came to his old home town of Nazareth and stood up in the synagogue to read he chose the place in the prophet Isaiah where it is written:

"The spirit of the Lord is upon me because he hath anointed me to preach glad tidings to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord."

How natural then is it that when he had finished he should say:

"This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears."

How fitting then it is that when Jesus taught his disciples to pray he should put almost at the beginning of his modest prayer the words:

"Thy Kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven."

How natural then it appears that in parable after parable, in illustration after illustration, he should teach his hearers about the Kingdom of God, this human society where love should rule. We can be sure that Jesus had this social message for in no other way could the poor have been so drawn to him and for no other cause would the mighty have so persistently opposed him. It is no accident that Mary, his mother, is represented in the early writings as saying:

"My soul doth magnify the Lord . . . he hath put down the mighty from their seats and exalted them of low degree. He hath filled the hungry with good things and the rich he hath sent empty away."

Jesus came announcing the reign of God upon this earth. In adopting this social gospel he sponsored an idea that was universally human. It was widespread in Egypt and the civilizations of the Tigris-Euphrates valley. The Roman saturnalia, the Athenian Cronia, the Greek myths of the golden age and the democracy of many of the mystery religions show how widespread were these ideas in the ancient world. Christianity could not have

grown as it did had it offered nothing more than bliss in a future life. Jesus spoke with a background of social idealism to people who were caught in a tiger-like tyranny and he spoke to them in terms which could have meant but one thing to them. Jesus' message was a social message. It was more than that because it was founded upon his unshakable trust in a righteous and loving God but it was also a mighty message of social redemption.

There are three points in the social message of Jesus which need to be stressed. First, we must note that Jesus condemned the lust for possessions. He said, "You cannot serve God and money." He said that the cares of riches choke out the word of God. He told the rich young man to sell all that he had and give to the poor. He said, "Woe to you rich for you have received your reward." He saw clearly that if a few are very rich it means poverty for the many. "The love of money," said one of Jesus' disciples, "is the root of all evil." Certainly it is a matter of common knowledge for us today that the master iniquities of our time are connected with money making. It is this lust for money that is at the heart of most of our social evils. But we have no reason for thinking that Jesus condemned the use of the good things of life, food and clothing and shelter and all that goes to make for human enjoyment. What

he condemned was the use of possessions secured at the cost of some one else. He did not commend poverty in and for itself. In fact he condemned the worry and the anxiety which are almost inseparable from poverty. As a recent writer has well said:

"Blind class hatred, inordinate, if unsatisfied lusts for the comforts and pleasures wealth can buy, constant striving to add a little to the already gained, all this is as subversive of noble character as fabulous wealth and luxury. Poverty does not fit one for the Kingdom of God."

Jesus condemned the pursuit of riches because he saw clearly that a man whose heart was set upon them for himself could not work with much zeal for the Kingdom of God which was for all.

Jesus condemned the lust for wealth. He condemned with equal vigor the lust for domination. It was the desire to lord it over others which was one of the great evils of the ancient world as it is of our own. This has been one of the mainsprings of military aggression. Men want to control others for their own ends. This is why they pile up riches long after all their personal needs are satisfied. They desire the riches for the power that they give over the lives and destinies of others. Both among the old Puritans and the Soviet leaders today we may see this lust for control over others, this drive for power and we may note that it is a more lasting and bigger drive than the de-

sire for riches. Men may be thoroughly abstemious in their personal habits and yet have an overweening ambition to get men within their power. Even among Jesus' own disciples he found this poison at work. They came to him wanting the chief places. Recall how he turned upon them and said:

"The kings of the Gentiles lord it over them and they that have authority over them are called benefactors but among you it shall not be so but whosoever would be great among you shall be your minister and whosoever would be first among you shall be the servant of all."

Jesus saw the havoc which the rich and the proud had wrought in the world. He unsparingly condemned those who were contemptuous of others, this pride which grows out of the lust for power. It is significant that the great drama of "Paradise Lost" depicts this as the basic evil. Through lust for power the angels fell.

Finally Jesus stressed a method for bringing in this golden age for which men had so ardently longed. He knew that an external revolution was not enough. There had been such, time without end. He would strike deeper than that. He would seek a revolution in the very desires of men. He would take out of their minds and hearts this insatiable greed and this overpowering ambition to dominate. But he knew this could not be done by force and he rejected force as a method of

bringing in his kingdom. His method was the method of sacrificial love. He would resist wrong and aggression but he would resist always on the moral plane where alone could real changes be affected. Jesus expected by his teachings of sacrificial love and by his example of it in his death as a criminal to release in the spirits of men social forces which God could use to transform the world into a world of brotherhood. Jesus relied neither upon force nor upon law but upon changing the actual attitudes of men.

Jesus condemned unsparingly the lust for wealth and the lust for power. He preached the method of moral resistance rather than the resistance by physical force. He held up to men the ideal of the Kingdom of God, the dream of the golden age where all should have peace and plenty, living in accord with the old nomadic ideals of the desert, those ideals of simplicity, equality and freedom. But just how, may we ask, did Jesus propose to cast out these demons of money-love and lust for domination? Here I believe is the very heart of the matter: Jesus seems to have had a self-authenticating personal experience which made him know that there is nothing in the world which will really satisfy men but God, that is, to be in harmony with the spirit which is back and in and through all things. He knew that deeper even than the hunger for food and more lasting than

the urge of sex is the innate human hunger for God. Today some are attempting to express this hunger in different terms; calling it the urge to unify the personality, to integrate the self, but however we moderns may describe it a deeper analysis will reveal the God hunger which Jesus believed was basic in the nature of man. The trouble with possessions is that they do not satisfy; the evil in power is that it turns to ashes in one's hands. Nothing really satisfies except this unification of life which to Jesus was finding God and losing one's self in doing his will. This was the one thing needful; this was the pearl of great price. But Jesus saw unerringly and he pointed out to men that they could find God only by being God-like, by looking upon men as the supreme values of this universe, by looking upon them with the eyes of love. "Love your enemies," he says, "that you may be the sons of your heavenly father." He drove home to men that it was only as they lost their little selves in the overmastering passion for the Kingdom of God, for the well-being of all, that they could find themselves. It was thus that Jesus would drive out the lust for power and possessions. He could do it by implanting in men's spirits the greater desire for the Kingdom of God. By seeking the Kingdom of God men would at once unify their personalities; they would have that inner peace which passeth all understanding. The Kingdom would come to

them within their own souls. It would come to the whole world when all men sought the Kingdom, when they loved others as they loved themselves. Then and thus only could the race attain the fulfillment of its age-old dream of a golden age when all should dwell together and there should be none to make them afraid. It was only as men came to seek first the Kingdom of God and his righteousness that they could find themselves as individuals and society itself be reborn. Then and then only could the vision of Isaiah come true that they should build houses and inhabit them, they should plant vineyards and eat the fruit of them, that they should not plant and another eat; they should not build and another inhabit, that they should not labor in vain nor bring forth for calamity. This was the social teaching of Jesus and it was founded upon the solid rock of man's basic desire to be in tune with the universe. Only as we strive for the Kingdom of God can we find God ourselves; only as we seek the social good can we have inner harmony, true sanity. This is the mystery of the Kingdom of God. As Jesus said, "If any man have ears to hear let him hear." In the life and teachings of Jesus the Christian church has an adequate answer for the industrial crisis today. In rejecting that answer the world will condemn itself to continued spiritual and economic darkness.

CHAPTER III

UNEMPLOYMENT, CRIME AND MENACE

DURING most of the 1920's the American people enjoyed prosperity such as they had never known before. It is true that the farmers did not have their share of it, and it is true too that some sections of the industrial workers such as those in the textile industries did not have theirs, but, on the whole, the average American had more of the necessaries and the luxuries of life than had ever before fallen to his lot. Great fortunes were made and the number of millionaires and multi-millionaires grew apace. Stocks and bonds—almost any kind—sold at high and ever higher figures. The common man discovered Wall Street and caught the speculative fever. Men talked about the new day which had dawned in industry. Economists of high distinction and even presidents spoke of a "new era." There was to be work for all and at the highest wages ever known. It seemed to many that the industrial millennium had dawned. Automobiles, radios, jewelry, amusements of every kind—there was to be more than enough for all. Everybody was to have everything in the Ameri-

can industrial Paradise. We were in heaven now; there was no need to long for a hereafter.

The awakening from this dream of economic bliss was rude and sudden. On October 25th, 1929, there came the Wall Street crash. Securities were thrown on the market in a frenzy of selling. Prices dropped lower and lower. At first the financiers were principally affected, but as the weeks went on and the old values did not return, business slowed up. Stores could not sell their goods, factories could not market their products. Men were laid off. The bread lines grew longer in the great cities. Nearly every community began to feel the "Industrial Depression." At first there was the disposition on the part of nearly all of us, including our public officials, to minimize the extent of the disaster, to underestimate the number of unemployed. There was a pathetic belief that if we talked as we had talked in the days of prosperity that prosperity would return. We clung to a faith in sympathetic magic. But now after three years we are in a more realistic mood. We begin to realize that we face an unemployment crisis of unprecedented magnitude. Moreover it is gradually dawning upon us that the emergency may be more than temporary. We begin to fear that we now have a permanent unemployment problem. We suspect that Philip C. Staples, vice-president of the Bell Telephone

Company, was right when he told his associates in Philadelphia recently, "Of the hundreds of thousands of people out of work in Philadelphia today, thousands and thousands of them are never going back to work and you gentlemen know it." And the New York *World-Telegram* did not overstate the case when it said editorially, "The emergency which calls for pauperizing relief of those whom the machine has cast off is not a temporary but a permanent emergency. One searching the heart of the nation and challenging its intellect as nothing has challenged it since the industrial revolution and the Black Plague—for the new unemployment is itself a plague, a plague in which the victims do not die, but must live on, they and their families with them."

When we face up to a menacing condition of this kind the most obvious and sensible thing to do is to attempt to understand it. And this means that we ought to know first of all how large that problem is, that is, how many men and women are actually out of work in America today. When we ask this question we at once discover a basic difficulty. We find that our government bureaus have not yet functioned satisfactorily in this realm. As George A. Hastings, an administrative assistant to President Hoover, put it: "Thanks to the government we know that 1,913,245,000 dozens of eggs are laid by American hens in a

year; we probably know the number of mouse traps sold in Montenegro and clothes pins in Kamchatka; we know how many hogs in Kansas have the cholera but we do not know even yet how many people are out of work in the United States or in New York State." However, let us note how the estimates have steadily grown.

The Bureau of the Census reported that in April, 1930, there were 2,508,151 persons "out of a job, able to work and looking for work." But that total did not include numbers "having jobs but on layoff without pay." And "sick or voluntarily idle" which evidently should appear in any total of existing unemployment. On November 23, 1930, Colonel Arthur Woods estimated that between 3,000,000 and 4,000,000 persons were unemployed. On December 3, 1930, William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, estimated that 4,860,000 were unemployed and that 360,000 had been thrown out of work during November. The government census taken in late January, 1931, led to an estimate of 6,050,000 out of a job able to work and looking for a job, with an additional 200,000 or more who, although they had jobs, were laid off without pay. Estimates based on careful statistics placed the unemployed on July 1, 1931, at 9,310,000. In the fall and winter of 1931 the numbers continued to rise and at the beginning of 1932

about one quarter of the nation's workers that is, between 10,000,000 and 11,000,000 were jobless. During the year the jobless continued to increase until fall when the director of the Federal Census on Employment estimated the number of unemployed at 11,000,000 to 12,000,000. Of course these figures deal only with those totally unemployed. In addition we must remember that there are several millions more who are employed on part time only. While, as stated above, we do not know the facts with complete accuracy it is probably fair to say, as the International Labor Office at Geneva does say, that some 24,000,000 men, women and children in the United States are suffering through unemployment. And 24,000,000 is one-fifth the population of the United States. Such is the magnitude of the crisis upon us.

But it is a grave error for us to assume that this evil of unemployment is something that has suddenly come upon us. We have had ample warning of it. It is not a new evil. It has been with us almost all our recent industrial history. A glance at the decade of the 1920's, this period of prosperity toward which we now look back with so much longing, will show the actual situation. According to the National Bureau of Economic Research, the average minimum volume of unemployment in the United States from 1920 to 1927, excluding agricultural workers, varied from

1,400,000 to 4,270,000. The Bureau insists that their figures on this subject are rock bottom minimum figures. Moreover the study of unemployment made a few years ago by the Russell Sage Foundation concluded that from ten to twelve per cent of the gainfully employed in the United States were on the average, counting good times and bad, out of work. This figure agrees with that of Professor Paul H. Douglas of the University of Chicago, who concludes as a result of his own researches, that the average rate of unemployment for the thirty-year period 1896-1926 in manufacturing, transportation and the building trades was 10.2 per cent.

All this means that this evil of unemployment about which the American public has just now become conscious is a characteristic of prosperous times too. It is not limited to times of industrial depression. It seems to be an ever-present feature of modern industrialism. It is not peculiar to the United States for we find it in England, Germany, France, Japan and all other industrial countries with the exception of Russia. These wider aspects of the problem cannot be ignored in our thought about this particular crisis we have to face. As Dr. Isador Lubin of the Institute of Economics puts it:

"Although the dramatic spectacle of millions of unemployed walking the streets of our industrial commu-

nities during recurring periods of business depression temporarily makes vivid the enormity of the problems of unemployment, it must be borne in mind that there are millions of workers to whom the loss of employment is a spectre which threatens during every year of their working existence. Unemployment is a persistent factor in modern economic life. The industries and plants which can give regular employment to all of their laborers even in times of prosperity are few indeed."

And the Committee on Elimination of Waste in Industry of the Federated American Engineering Societies, in its report published in 1921, the foreword to which was written by Herbert Hoover, said:

"In the best years, even the phenomenal years of 1917 and 1918 at the climax of wartime industrial activities, when plants were working to capacity and when unemployment reached its lowest point in twenty years, there was a margin of unemployment amounting to more than a million men."

It must be remembered then that while unemployment is today a tragedy affecting a quarter of our American homes it is not an evil limited to days of industrial crisis. It is with us in prosperous days as well. And it is not enough to see this evil merely in terms of so many millions unemployed or covering so many years of time. All that is important but we need far more to see it in terms of human beings. There is danger in studying this problem that it should be to us merely an

"economic problem" like a problem in algebra or geometry. We tend to forget the human beings involved in it, the human suffering that lies behind the words, "Twelve million unemployed."

When unemployment comes wages stop. A family may live on credit for a little time and no small praise is due the small shopkeepers and tradesmen who "carry" these families just as long as they are able. But sooner or later there must be the appeal to "charity." Now great credit ought to be given to our charitable agencies but it just isn't possible for them to maintain the unemployed worker's family on the old standards. The simple fact is that men and women and, worst of all, the children do not have sufficient food to eat or clothes to wear. Undernourishment increases the liability to disease; epidemics more easily get under way and these epidemics claim more victims. Dr. John L. Elliott, a New York Settlement worker of long experience reports:

"No one can know the situation in working class communities without becoming aware that being out of work acts on the family life of the lower class and sometimes skilled workers like a devastating plague. It handicaps great groups of our fellow citizens, depriving them of the opportunity to live a human life. Consumption sometimes wastes the frame, saps the life of the individual. Sometimes it wipes out families. There have been whole city blocks that were known as 'lung blocks' because consumption was found there with such devastating fre-

quency, and yet, taken as a whole, the disease of unemployment is a far more desolating disease than anything known to medicine or to the human family."

What it all means in human terms has been most tellingly described by Clinch Calkins in her digest of the settlements' study of this problem made a few years ago in the days of prosperity. This report of the settlements' study called "Some Folks Won't Work" is one of the most effective answers ever penned to the charge that most of the unemployed are such because of their own shortcomings. Among the scores of cases cited in that book is the following: *

"He seemed anxious to sit down when he came and steadied himself by the furniture, but I didn't know then that he was weak from lack of food. When the department had come in on the case he had had little or nothing to eat for three days. He was fifty-two, a bad age, practically hopeless for a job, when young men couldn't get work and he was aware of it; for he was an old Detroiter, had worked for Ford, Graham Paige, and Fisher Body, and knew the ropes. But he had kept on trying, because he had the 'missus to look after.' There were two sons and a married daughter. Both sons and the daughter's husband had been out of work for three months. Four men workless and wageless in one family."

Again, listen as Miss Calkins tells the story of the Ardmore carpenter:

* Published by Harcourt, Brace and Company. Quoted by permission.

"I can picture part of the story, but parts of it are beyond my powers to picture. How did he get to the job in Ardmore from his home in Philadelphia? It is over 30 cents away. Who lent him the carfare? Or did he walk? Or did he catch a ride? What conversation did he overhear, what printed words gave him the desperate hope that in Ardmore would lie his redemption? How did his words form themselves so persuasively in the mouth of one so restrained, with such a sense of form, that he was to greet the close of his miserable life with rites? 'He begged awful,' said the contractor. 'I couldn't stand it. I didn't have the work, but I made him a job.'

So he was set to work and the first day passed. A second day commenced. At eleven in the morning the carpenter put away his job, took up his tools slowly and laid them in their chest. 'What's the matter? Ain't you satisfied? Your work's going fine.' To which nunc dimittis the good and faithful servant made no answer but put his last saw in his kit, and lay down and died. At the hospital it was said that for five days his stomach had received no food."

And as Miss Calkins concludes:

"That act is over. He found the inaccessible end. For the most of the poor, an accident staves it off. A sop prolongs them—a fortuitous plate of soup from the floor above; an old cabbage head rolled off a stand in the market; some tea."

There is an infinite monotony about these stories of the unemployed. One by one things and plans are given up. Clothing, food, rent, and then the hope for a better life and the plans for the

children's schooling. Moreover, as the months go by, moral disintegration sets in. Men lose the desire and the capacity to work. The unemployed become unemployable. They feel that they are outcasts; they have lost their industrial citizenship, something far more full of meaning to them than their political citizenship. Only those who have experienced this feeling or who have, like our pastors and neighborhood workers, been in the confidence of the victims, can fully appreciate the horror of it. It is no wonder that insanity frequently results; it is not surprising that the suicide rate rises. The Wickersham Commission merely stated the obvious truth when it pointed out that unemployment is one of the great causes of crime.

Another evil which goes along with unemployment is the grafting employment agency. Men "buy a job"; they pay $5.00, $8.00, $10.00 whatever it may be if they can possibly raise the price. They find, as did a man I tried to help, that the job lasted for only four days. He paid $8.00 to get the job and the job paid him $4.00 a day for a paltry four days. Then we may quite properly assume that some other poor fellow was sent and the story repeated. If any men deserve long prison sentences it is these swindlers who live upon the misery of the unemployed. Our unemployed become a prey to every conceivable grafter and exploiter.

Moreover we must not forget the baneful effect of unemployment upon the employed, the men and women still at work. The almost inevitable effect of the presence of a large number of men and women out of work is to depress the wages of those at work. At the conference called by President Hoover at the beginning of the depression business men promised that they would not reduce wages. But within a few weeks of that promise it was possible for E. F. McGrady of the A. F. of L., whom no one will accuse of being radical, to point out that 49 industries had broken their agreement with the President. Since the economic crisis wages have been declining throughout a large portion of the country. Unemployment is not merely a menace to the unemployed but to the employed as well.

Unemployment is a physical and moral menace. It undermines health; it shatters morale; it leads to crime; it exposes the weak to the sharp practices of the unprincipled. It hits not only those out of work but those still employed find their wages reduced and their living standards brought down. Even the Share the Work movement moves inevitably in that direction. These are some of the evils which unemployment brings in its train.

There is a suggestive story of a Maine farmer who in the midst of an unusually severe winter had to carry all the water for his stock. He vowed

with many fierce oaths that he would never be caught that way again but when the summer came he would bury his water pipes so deep that no frost could ever touch them. The summer came and the boiling sun. When asked if he had fixed the pipes he said, "Oh no, we'll never have a winter like that again." In this characteristically human attitude lies our real danger. The American people are aroused now about unemployment but if prosperity were to return tomorrrow it is questionable whether any real lesson would have been learned. Once more the old speculation, the same old unwillingness to consider making the basic changes necessary so that this kind of thing shall never happen again. Nevertheless we are all in a somewhat chastened mood and the only possibility of our making changes toward a better rearrangement of our economic life is found in studying the question now when our distress gives us the will to find a way out. This means primarily that we must recognize the causes of the present catastrophic economic breakdown.

Probably the most fundamental of all these causes is to be found in our new machine technique. The rapid increase in the use of high-power machinery is reducing the need for human labor. Men are being displaced by machines. Even were we to return tomorrow to the boom days of 1929 we could produce all that we were

producing then and still have no jobs for five or six million of our workers. The rôle of machinery in the present crisis is a stellar one and we shall deal with it more adequately in a later chapter. But there are other players in the drama, there are other causes which have contributed to the present breakdown.

Among these are excessive tariffs. It is quite obvious that the prime essential of modern machine industry is a market for its product. The great productivity of the machine soon exhausts the local and domestic market. Foreign markets are necessary if the wheels are to be kept turning and the workers employed. Whatever interferes with these foreign markets make inevitably for unemployment. Excessive tariffs cause such interference. They provoke retaliation on the part of the countries affected by them and thus close the doors to our products, doors which would otherwise be open. The overwhelming majority of our economists are convinced that our tariff of 1930 was a tragic mistake and has made our present depression more severe than it might otherwise have been. Moreover it must be added that tariffs generally result in higher prices, thus reducing the purchasing power of the masses.

Another factor which looms large in the present unemployment crisis is found in the war debts. Germany was asked to pay a high reparations bill

to the victors in the Great War. These creditors in turn are asked to repay the sums they borrowed of the United States. Germany threatens to break under the strain. She cannot pay except in goods and these goods are not wanted as they demoralize the markets of the creditor nations. The poverty-stricken German people with wages depressed to lower and lower depths, cannot buy foreign products as in former days. Not a few observers are convinced that no solution of the world crisis can be found until a more satisfactory solution is found to the war debt problems. Probably no substantial recovery in the United States or Europe can be looked for until these war debts are cancelled or substantially reduced.

There is still another factor and one frequently forgotten or ignored. That factor is the scarcity of gold. Most of the countries of the world have based their currencies upon this metal. They have to have sufficient amounts of it on hand to back that currency. In the last few years the amount of gold available has not been equal to the demand for it. This means that gold has become more precious, which is but another way of saying that commodities have become cheaper when measured in it. And this is but a roundabout way of saying that prices are falling. This makes necessary thousands of readjustments and throws men out of work.

Nor can we forget the stupendous shock of the Great War and the race in armaments after it. These preparations are a terrific drain upon the resources of the people of the world. It is true that they provide work for some workers but nowhere near the number that could receive work if these expenditures went into more productive enterprise. When war comes the wealth destroyed constitutes an economic handicap which takes years to overcome. The Great War destroyed wealth almost equal to the total present wealth of the United States. Not a few keen students believe that our present economic stagnation has its roots in the world disaster of 1914-1918.

Finally we must note that the profits made possible by the extraordinary efficiency of our machine technique have been very unevenly distributed. The masses have not had the buying power to give a constant and stable market. Great incomes to the few are not expended for basic commodities in the way the same amounts of money would be if paid out to more people in the form of higher wages. As Frank A. Vanderlip, formerly President of the National City Bank, puts it, "Capital kept too much and labor did not have enough to buy its share of things." Thus demand not being great enough employment fell off.

The almost devilish productivity of the ma-

chine, the closing of our markets by high tariffs, the war debts uncertainty, the scarcity of gold, the aftermath of the war with its legacy of increased armaments and the inequitable distribution of the fruits of our industrial system, these are some of the outstanding causes of the present disease which is upon us.

And what is the remedy for that disease? There are two schools of medical advisers who prescribe for us. There is the school which says it is best to tackle the evil symptoms separately. If the tariff is wrong abolish it, if gold is at fault use silver too, and so on through the list. This group of counsellors would have us tackle the evils one by one. But there is another group which believes that there can be no permanent solution of our unemployment problem and the other economic ills which have come upon us until we make some basic and sweeping changes. Events are rapidly justifying the latter. An increasing number of our church leaders, especially our younger ministers, are demanding that our present capitalist structure be abolished and a new system built to take its place.

To put it in a few words, their viewpoint is this: The machine has been a social product. No man is responsible for its coming. We have all built it. It demands the coöperation of all of us to make it effective. It takes multitudes to build

these machines and multitudes (although lessening multitudes) to run them. It is only a step but a necessary step and a logical step to say that these machines will add little to human happiness until they are owned and controlled by the community as a whole. All agree that there has been overproduction but at the same time there are millions who do not have enough to eat, enough to wear and homes to live in. The machine must be used by all of us to get the things which we all need. There must come genuine social planning. This matter has become too much a matter of life and death to be left to individual whim or caprice. Just as during the Great War our government along with other governments decided what should be made and how much, so in the same way peace itself in a machine age becomes an emergency which demands rational planning. It would be perfectly possible, as the Great War proved, so to organize our life that the things we need could be made in sufficient quantities to meet the needs of all our people.

Moreover so productive is the machine that all this socially necessary labor could be done without long hours for the worker. Probably six would suffice, quite possibly much less. All that is needed is the community decision that the machine shall be used for the benefit of all the people rather than for the benefit of the few. Today

employment has been slowed down in a measure at least because great financial interests have found more immediate profits in controlling production through mergers than in setting men to work making more products. Social planning would mean that the needs of all the people would be considered and first things be put first. Just as during the War the socially necessary work was given the first consideration. All the people would have bread before the few would have cake. Until something of this sort is done in our basic industries at least, we will have to struggle along with the tragic evil of unemployment. Even when we do not have it in threatening proportions the spectre of it will haunt us.

I am well aware that this will seem too far-reaching, too radical to many. But sooner or later this problem will have to be faced in some such way. Unemployment insurance, the insistence that industry shall not throw all the burden on the worker, will be of some value; the organization of efficient public employment agencies will help some men to find jobs; the planning of far-reaching building projects to meet such a time as the present will be of real service. Nevertheless we will never master the machine, we will never learn to ride what Stuart Chase so picturesquely calls, "Our billion wild horses" until we settle this problem as a people rather than leave it to

the chance thought and the chance kindliness of private individuals.

But back of all this demand of our younger churchmen for complete reconstruction there lies an assumption, an assumption which to many will seem fatal. That assumption is that people will work sufficiently for the public good without the economic threat. We shall take that up in a later chapter. Just now it is sufficient to say that during the War our whole nation had a mind to work because it was actuated by something more than the desire for gain. Moreover if we once hold up before a people the ideal of serving the community with the same zeal and insistence which we now use in holding up the ideals of personal success, results will follow which today seem impossible. And it is right here that religion will be of inestimable service. It will show men and women what values are the highest and it will give them the strength to be faithful to those ideals. It will teach them that in serving the community, in giving it their best they are serving the very spirit of the life process. Religion will root these social values in the cosmic order itself. That this economic crisis in which we today find ourselves may make us resolve to make these ideals realities is the hope which this cruel unemployment brings. Why must we be like the farmer with his water pipes? Let us rather just as soon

as better economic weather comes dig down and lay our pipes so deep that no depression can freeze them. And now in the winter of our discontent is the time to make the blue prints of the gigantic task of reconstruction which lies ahead.

CHAPTER IV

THE ECONOMIC ROOTS OF WAR

WAR has been called "The world's greatest collective sin." It is the final denial of all that Christ taught. In ever-increasing numbers the men and women who make up our churches are registering their protests against it. Some of these protests drawn up and adopted by responsible ecclesiastical bodies go to the lengths of saying that they are done with the war system forever. The Christian churches are becoming pacifist in their outlook and sympathy. And this is true primarily because the years 1914-1918 made clear that war could not be waged without hatred. The gospel of Him who said, "Put up thy sword" cannot be reconciled with war and armaments. Church leaders and no small number of those who belong to the rank and file of church membership see this point but all too often they do not see that the only way to prevent war in our present world is by removing the causes of it. It is not enough to be opposed to war in general or even to refuse to participate in it. No really effec-

tive attack upon the war system can be made which does not include in its program an effort to remove the causes of war. It has now become crystal clear that the roots of war in our modern world are economic. As President Wilson put it after the close of the Great War, "Does not every man know, does not every woman know, nay I say does not every child know that this war was commercial in its origin?" It is for this reason that it is of supreme importance for the Christian church to see clearly how inevitably war grows out of our present economic arrangements. By this path too are Christian thinkers brought face to face with the essential evils of our industrial system. But let us make this connection between war and our acquisitive economic system more explicit.

In the preceding chapter it was pointed out that the economic basis of human life has been profoundly altered by the coming of high-power machinery. This new machine technique has made it possible for one man to do by the touch of a hand what a thousand slaves never did. Power machinery and the factory system have produced wealth beyond even the dreams of the men of the past. Government reports have estimated that before the economic crisis the wealth of the United States was nearly half a trillion dollars. Our annual income in those days was estimated

to be in the neighborhood of ninety billions of dollars. As a result the average American's standard of living became the highest the world had ever seen. The common man had more than he had ever had before and yet the lion's share went to the few who owned the high-power machinery that made the wealth possible. The real situation is made clear when we recall that the Federal Trade Commission reported in those years of prosperity that 59% of the wealth of the country was owned by one per cent of the people. Moreover it was not merely wealth ownership which was inequitably distributed but income, which is more significant, was also flowing into a relatively few hands. In those days before the depression the non-partisan Bureau of Economic Research pointed out that 1% of those who received any money income at all, (and half of our population did not) got 14% of all that was received.

This was the situation in the United States and it was also the situation in every other industrialized country, England, France, Germany or Japan. A vast surplus was piled up in the hands of a comparatively small group of people in each of these lands. Now there is an obvious limit to what can be spent for mere consumption goods. A great manufacturer making millions each year cannot spend all of those millions for food and clothing or even for luxuries and super-luxuries.

This surplus must and will be reinvested. Moreover it tends to be reinvested where the return will be the greatest. In recent years the great returns have been sought in the industrially backward countries, that is the countries which have not yet been developed by modern industrialism. Countries like China have been entered by textile companies because there an abundance of the cheapest labor could be found with few governmental restrictions. As a result of such favorable conditions one hundred per cent return per year was by no means unusual, frequently the return was much higher.

It must be obvious then that such opportunities for investment are bound to be attractive. American, English, French, German and the investors of all other countries are rivals for the investment opportunities which these backward lands offer. They are interested in China, in Africa and South America. For help in this struggle against one another these business interests with their money to invest quite naturally appeal to their respective governments. Possessing power and influence with their own governments their pleas are heard and foreign policy is moulded according to their wishes. Their governments protect their investments with their ships, their marines and their soldiers. At bottom this has been the reason for the occupation of Haiti by the government of the

United States and for the long rule of American marines in Nicaragua. Quite naturally the various governments find these foreign investments a constant source of friction in their dealings with one another. The final result is war.

But there is another way in which the industrial system works toward war. This is found in the ever-growing need for the raw materials of production. The oil supply of the world is not unlimited and the motor age cannot live without oil. The timber supply of the world is fast being depleted and wood is still of prime importance. Rubber exists in a limited part of the earth and modern life is almost unthinkable without it. Industry today must have iron and coal and gold and silver and manganese and dozens of other raw materials which enter into the modern productive process. The manufacturers who can command these resources will in the long run dominate the field. Inevitably then there comes a struggle for the possession of the timber and the mines and all that feeds the productive process, what we usually term the natural resources. It is this that very largely explains Japan's invasion and seizure of Manchuria. She is convinced there are resources there which are necessary to her very life as an industrial nation. This is the very great reason for the interest of the leading powers in Persia, in Africa and in Mexico. All

these lands possess raw materials. Machines depend upon raw materials and the supply of them is not unlimited. There is bound to be a struggle for them on the part of those who control the productive process of each nation. Again we must remember that these are the very men who control their own governments and most naturally those governments back them up. The chances are great that sooner or later this commercial struggle will pass over into war as in the case of Japan and China. And always there is the danger that such a war cannot be localized but will become world wide.

But there is still another way in which our industrial system works toward war. This arises out of the ever-increasing need for markets. The large-scale production which so dazzles us today turns out more goods than can be easily sold at a profitable price. The Steel Corporation with its millions of steel rails, the Standard Oil Company with its countless gallons of surplus gasoline, Henry Ford and General Motors with their millions of automobiles, the American Tobacco Company with its ever-increasing production of cigarettes—these and hundreds of other companies need more than the home market to dispose of their products. How great is the pressure is shown by the deep and close attention given to salesmanship. It is studied scientifically. Good

salesmen can almost name their salaries. Every company aims above all to build up a highly efficient sales department. Advertising uses every art and appeals to every human motive. Goods may be sold by fair means and by foul but they must be sold. Something of the dollars and cents measure of all this is pointed out by Stuart Chase, one of our leading economists, who tells us that the actual labor cost of a $3,000 automobile in the years before the Wall Street crash was only about $180.00 but the cost of marketing that auto, of selling it, was about $1,200.

Of course this constant pressure to dispose of the goods which power machinery and the factory system have piled up means sooner or later that markets must be sought abroad. As President Hoover once made clear in a public address, the amount sold abroad means just the difference between hard times and prosperity in our own United States of America. It is inevitable then that the tobacco companies should send their salesmen into China and use every artifice to make Chinese cigarette smokers. It is inevitable too that they should advertise against "the ancient prejudice" that forbade cigarettes to women. The automobile manufacturer seeks for trade in India, South Africa and Japan. Not only these articles but novelties of every description are manufactured for the foreign trade. And what is true of

us is true of every other industrial nation. Markets become prizes to be striven for. Every nation feels this pressure of production and is searching for markets. Necessarily this means that there is most vigorous rivalry for the trade of foreign lands and especially for those not yet industrialized. Special trade privileges are sought for in treaties, some of which are published and some of which remain secret. Both, of course, arouse resentments among those who do not share in their special advantages. Here again the great companies engaging in foreign trade are powerful with their home governments and their quarrels with their trade rivals pass readily into national quarrels. Tariff barriers are erected by each country to keep out the products of the others and control is sought over other countries so that tariff barriers may operate in them also. Governments find themselves on unfriendly terms over these questions and finally there comes war. Such in short has been the history of the origin of much of our modern war. It finds its source in the ever-present struggle for markets.

Our present industrial system is thus a prolific breeder of war. It piles up ever-increasing profits into the hands of the few who own the tools of production. These profits demand re-investment and they are more and more being re-invested in the industrially backward countries. The flag fol-

lows these investments for the investors are powerful in the councils of the state departments of the world. Moreover there is coupled with all this an inevitable rivalry for the markets and the raw materials of the world, both so necessary to the functioning of modern industry. More and more these are being sought on foreign soil. There is not enough to go round and all the arts of business are used to secure them. The governments, no matter what political form they take, tend to become the agents of those who control the industries and the trade war becomes international war. In this basic fact of economic rivalry do we find the real obstacle to international peace today, an obstacle which all our disarmament conferences thus far haven't made the slightest progress in removing.

Perhaps a few illustrations will make this supreme obstacle to peace still more apparent. The Great War was fundamentally a struggle between Great Britain and Germany for the markets of the world. German manufacturers had become so efficient and their salesmen so persistent that they were gradually winning out over the English. The governments of both Germany and Great Britain backed up their industrialists and war came. While the war was, in official documents, placed on other grounds, it was as Woodrow Wilson in a burst of candor said, "a commercial war." Again it is

now almost generally admitted that our real purpose in waging the Mexican war in the 1840's was to possess Mexican territory, to have more raw materials and more markets. Also our subsequent difficulties with Mexico have been due to American companies with investments in Mexico and American manufacturers who were seeking to control the raw materials of that land. The Russo-Japanese war had a similar origin being due primarily to the desire of the great Russian interests to grab the raw materials and markets of a large slice of China. The Boer war was a marauding expedition to take possession of the diamond fields, the gold mines and other raw materials in the territory inhabited by the Boers. The Spanish American war, historians have now made plain, was engineered by those who had investments in and sought control of Cuba. We talked much at that time about Cuban liberty but the guiding hand was that group which was interested in Cuban sugar. The great banking interests of our land have had considerable weight in the councils of our state department in dealing with Latin America. Our ever-increasing investments in those lands mean an ever-increasing demand upon our government to control the destinies of our neighbors to the south.

Concretely how this works is well expressed by Thomas Parker Moon in his "Imperialism and

World Politics" * where he writes: "In 1922, Salvador made a loan contract with Minor C. Keith, head of the United Fruit Company, for the issue of bonds amounting to a maximum of $21,500,000. . . . The significant feature of the contract was the provision that 70% of the Republic's customs revenues were pledged to pay interest and sinking fund charges on this loan—disputes regarding the contract were to be referred through the Washington State Department to the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. The inference drawn by the bankers was, 'It is simply not thinkable that, after a Federal judge has decided any question or dispute between the bondholders and the Salvador government the United States government should not take necessary steps to sustain such a decision. There is a precedent in a dispute between Costa Rica and Panama in which a warship was sent to carry out the verdict of the arbitrators.' Salvador in short becomes a final dependency of American bankers acting with the coöperation of the United States government." In other words the investor chooses to invest abroad rather than at home since the returns are many times greater and then he turns to his home government to use its force to make his investment as safe as it was at home.

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All the great industrial nations are engaged in practices of this character for it is notorious that the cotton spinning interests of England have influenced the policy of Great Britain toward India. Bonds and bullets unite to produce our "Dollar Diplomacy."

Illustrations may be extended almost indefinitely but these will make concrete the general proposition that wars today, whatever they may or may not have been in ages past, are due to our competitive industrial system. That industrial system, marvellous as it is in its technological advance which from a turbine can get the energy of 9,000,000 men, has piled up profits into the hands of the few and demands ever more markets and raw materials to keep it going. The whole situation was well summed up by Mr. Theunis, the president of the World Economic Conference of 1927 in these words: "The maintenance of world peace depends largely upon the principles on which the economic policies of nations are formed and executed. . . . Economic conflicts and divergence of economic interest are perhaps the most serious and the most permanent of all the dangers which are likely to threaten the peace of the world. No machinery for the settlement of international disputes can be relied upon to maintain peace if the economic policies of the world so develop as to create not only deep divergencies

of economic interest between different masses of the world's population but a sense of intolerable injury and injustice."

The roots of most of our modern wars are to be found in our economic system. As long as the lion's share of the profits of that system are piled up into the hands of the few there will most naturally be rivalry to re-invest in the industrially backward countries where the return is greatest. Out of this wars have grown and will grow. Moreover the rivalry for raw materials and particularly for markets for the goods which flow so prodigally from the high-power machine embroils the nations in difficulties and quarrels which sooner or later are brought to the arbitrament of battle. How to change all this is a question which must be driven home to the Christian conscience. If it is not, the vigorous peace movement so evident in many of our churches will prove unrealistic and ineffective. It is not likely that universal peace so ardently desired by the followers of the Prince of Peace can ever come until our economic arrangements are basically changed.

Precisely what changes to make and how to make them are questions most intricate and difficult. If the industrial system were completely changed as in Russia there is still the possibility that socialist states might in their great need for raw materials be led to battle for them. Yet it

does seem to many of us that social ownership and operation of the basic industries would mark a significant and long step toward peace. It would seem too as though governments which were really governments of the people could find some way of agreeing with one another concerning the shares of each in the raw materials of the world. At least there would not be in a régime of production for use the same struggle for markets which menaces us today as we drive toward the goal of financial profit. Certainly with some system of planned production looking to the needs of the people and those needs only there would be no great surpluses piled up demanding re-investment in foreign lands. However, even if no essential modification of the present price system of industry is now feasible it does seem possible for the people of this country and of other countries so to change their laws that those who invest in foreign lands should be compelled to look to the laws of those lands and those laws only, for the protection of their investments. This would go a long way toward peace.

But no matter what international agreements and changes within our economic system are finally made the important fact for the religious man who desires peace is to realize and to help others to realize the real cause of modern war. Wars are not actually fought for such abstrac-

tions as liberty and democracy and all the rest. These are but shibboleths. Wars are fought today for bean cake and oil, for stocks and bonds. Once the everyday man who must actually do the killing realizes this fact the greatest blow to the prestige and power of Mars will have been given. To help the men and women who must bear the brunt of all war, the common citizens, to a knowledge of that fact is one of the greatest contributions which our churches can now make to the cause of peace.

CHAPTER V

THE DRAG OF THE PROFIT MOTIVE

SOME years ago a distinguished economist made this observation: "My objection to socialism is not found in the way it would divide property but in my belief that it would have nothing to divide." This remark states baldly and clearly the fundamental issue in the whole controversy between capitalism and any form of collectivism. As a matter of plain fact we get the world's work done today by appealing to the selfishness of men. We get new enterprises started by holding out the lure of profit. We say, "Get busy and you can make yourself rich." We assume that by throwing each man upon his own resources he will work to the limit and that as a result of those efforts we will all be benefited. This is the theory of the classical economists and it has been on this theory that we have erected our present economic structure. And it is only the truth to say, that working on this theory the average man here in America has had more than the average man ever had before in the world's history. It is largely for this reason that every proposed collectivist plan is

viewed with suspicion. There is the genuine fear that men and women will not work and will not give of their inventive genius unless the material rewards of that work and that genius are going to be their personal property. The overwhelming majority of the American people today believe that the only motive which is strong enough to meet the economic needs of society is the profit motive. If this be true it is evident that there is no use discussing any remedial measures for meeting the industrial crisis except those which will not alter the present individualistic basis of industry. If it be true that the profit motive alone is powerful enough to get the work done then all radical changes must be ruled out for the first essential of any economic system is that it work, that it produce the goods necessary for human life and happiness. And if it be true such ethical religious maxims as "From each according to his ability and to each according to his need" must wilt under the strong sun of economic reality.

But is it true? The moment we face this question we are led to ask another—just how effective is the profit motive upon which we rely today? It is possible that we are assuming that it possesses more efficiency than the facts warrant. At least the present distressing economic stagnation does not indicate 100% efficiency inherent in the profit motive. Our industrial engineers today are point-

ing out that they cannot get efficient production as long as business spends more time and money selling things for profit than it does in making things for use. We have depended upon the profit motive in the mining and distribution of anthracite coal and today that industry is nearly prostrate. It robbed the public for years until at last that public turned and learned that it could get along without anthracite. In the mining of bituminous coal we have the spectacle of a huge overdevelopment of an industry with so many mines and so many miners that only a few producers can make a profit and the plight of the miners is pitiful. If we look at the railroads of America we discover that here the drive for profits has had to be curbed not only in the interest of the public but in the interest of the owners themselves. The government has had to step in and unify lines and prescribe rates. It is likely that it will assume still further control over them. In most of our great cities we have the problem of housing for the low wage groups but we find that the desire for profits does not lead to the erection of houses for these groups for in this field not enough private profit is to be made. The only relief for many city dwellers is by public subsidy or coöperative non-profit enterprise. Moreover we have all noted the spectacle of output restricted to hold up the price. Although measured in terms of human

need there was no overproduction. We have again and again witnessed the spectacle of cotton burnt, apples left to rot, corn turned from food use to fuel use. More could be made for a small crop than for a large one, for a limited production than for a maximum. The profit motive in these cases has acted as a drag on production rather than as a stimulus to it. Economists such as Veblen and Hobson and others have pointed out that the desire for profit is leading to the overcapitalization of essential industries and that business tends under the drive of this desire to supply less goods at higher prices. We may at least raise the question whether the profit motive is as socially beneficial as it is ordinarily assumed.

Moreover it is entirely possible and somewhat probable that the very successes achieved by our present economic system may be due to other incentives which have become so mixed up with the lure of profit that we cannot easily analyze the part played by each. Men seem to seek ever more profits; they seek to build up great fortunes through organizing oil companies or building a power trust or something else which may have real social value. They appear to be motivated by the desire for profit and yet there is probably far more of a desire for that power over men and things which the control of money will give. It is power which is sought so determinedly rather

than possessions. It is not the profit motive but the power motive which really moves many of us.

Furthermore we must always reckon with the desire for social approval. We want to be well thought of by our fellows. We desire to have a reputation, to be known and noticed. Men seek to amass money today not merely because of the things that money will buy—food, clothing, autos, houses, lands and all the rest—but they seek to amass it because it is a badge of success. It is evident to all that they "have arrived." By getting money we expect to win the approval of our fellow men. And there is a special phase of this desire for approval found in the ranks of men who are in the same line of work. Some men care little for the approval of the general public but they care much for the approval of their fellow craftsmen. Doctors like to be recognized for their medical skill by their fellow physicians, lawyers by the members of the bar, engineers by their own profession and so all along the line. In thousands of cases this motive is actually stronger than the motive of personal, material gain. In college most of us found that the hard work of the campus, the running of the college paper, the arranging of inter-collegiate contests, the doing of all those things which are supposed to bring honor to the alma mater were not done for pay in the money sense of the word. Pay in dollars and

cents would have been a disgrace; to offer it would have been an insult. We did what we did because it was the thing to do; it brought us social approval. And the work we did would have been no better, in all likelihood it would not have been as good, had we been paid in the coin of the realm. The motive of social approval is a strong motive and it is more often stronger in our money-mad world than is commonly recognized. And much that is credited to the profit motive ought rather to be attributed to it.

In addition to the power motive and the motive for social approval there is another motive which is producing results even under our individualistic industry. That motive is the thrill which comes from the work itself. Of course, it must be granted that there are many thousands who never feel this because of the routine and dull nature of the task which falls to their lot. A multitude of those who tend machines in this age of power machinery do so only because they have to. But there are many thousands who do fine, honest work because they get the craftsman's joy out of doing it. There is a genuine ecstasy which comes from the knowledge that one is doing work of which he need not be ashamed. There are thousands of doctors whose real joy is found in their work. There are countless lawyers and teachers who get their real satisfaction out of doing their

work the best they can. There are thousands of ministers whose chief joy it is to prepare a sermon or organize a parish. There are hundreds of research men and scientists who are lured on by the sheer fascination of asking questions of nature and searching for her secrets. Most men as they grow old like to keep on working not merely because of the need for money but for the very joy of the work. As Carlyle well said: "Blessed is the man who has found his work, let him ask no other blessedness." Most of us know that we can find happiness in this world if we can find work to do which we like and are fitted for. We can face many a trouble and many a sorrow if we can have that basic satisfaction. Indeed it is right at this point that no small part of the curse of unemployment is found. Even a little examination of the situation reveals that much of the energy going into our economic order today is not due to the profit motive at all but rather to the natural joy which human beings have in doing something they like to do.

To sum up: It is likely that further analysis would disclose still other motives which now have a part in getting the world's work done. By no means does the drive all come from the profit motive. The desire for power plays a large part even when superficially considered the drive seems all for money. Moreover there is in most of us the

desire for the approval of the little group to which we belong and the recognition of our achievements by the general public. Nor can we in considering this matter be oblivious to that deep satisfaction which most human beings feel in doing a job well. We have the creative instinct; there is in all of us something of the soul of the artist. Without being conscious of it human society even today relies upon other motives in addition to the one of profit. Indeed it is not unlikely that these other motives have really contributed as much in the release of human energies and in the actual production of goods as the drive for material gain. It is altogether possible that the latter may now be something of an impediment to the fullest utilization of the productive capacities of this nation.

Be that as it may, idealists have never been happy as they have viewed the reliance upon selfishness to get economic results. It has always seemed to them to stand in the way of the moral development of man. And they have felt that there was another motive which should be and could be relied upon to make possible the cooperative commonwealth or Kingdom of God. Jesus referred to it in the well-known injunction to his disciples that they should not be like the world around them. "The kings of the Gentiles," he said, "exercise lordship over them and they

that exercise authority upon them are called benefactors but ye shall not be so, but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief as he that doth serve." And again, "Even the son of man came not to be ministered UNTO BUT TO MINISTER." Jesus taught, and religious geniuses throughout history have taught, that the motive of our lives should be the service motive, that anything else was below the standard necessary for a human society which sought justice and kindness for all.

However, the eminently practical man replies that all this is mere sentiment. He believes it is unrealistic. As most of the world is made up of these practical folk, the man of religious faith must be able to give a reason for the faith that is in him. How strong, we must ask, is this service motive? Is it really strong enough to be the basis of a human society that will produce enough for all and dispense justice with equity? It is obvious that right now a purely scientific answer cannot be given to this question. Not enough data are at hand. However, some of us religious folk are convinced that human nature is such that the service motive can be relied upon. We can give some reasons for the faith in our hearts. Those reasons are both practical and theoretical.

On the practical side we may note that there are already some lines of human endeavor in

which we place chief reliance upon the service motive. Again and again in the face of great danger we find that multitudes of men have in the world's history been willing to give up everything they possessed and life itself to protect their land and their people. In the spirit of patriotism they have fought the bloodiest wars and endured the most terrible privations. While other motives have been present with volunteer soldiers, the desire to do what they believed they ought to do, to serve their fellows has been uppermost. Beside this motive the profit motive was as nothing. Mercenary troops cannot be compared with volunteers in their devotion and courage.

Then there is the example given us by thousands of missionaries of various faiths, Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Buddhist and others. These men and women have gladly left their homes and their kindred without thought of pecuniary reward and with little social approval either from their own people or from those to whom they went. They have gone because they have felt that it was their duty in this way to serve their fellow men. Doctors, teachers, preachers, agriculturalists, have left all that they possessed in their own lands to face the hardships and the dangers of the land to which they were assigned. The service motive has been dominant with them.

Still another example is found among our doc-

tors. Many of them have gone into the work of healing because of the need they saw. They have faced the long, gruelling preparation that is necessary to secure a medical education in order that they might heal the sick and make life happier for the human beings who struggle for their health. We are not asserting that all doctors are like that; some are not, but many are. Thousands are working without any adequate financial return. It is not at all unusual to find a physician not only give his services to some poor patient but even pay for some of the supplies necessary. The clinics of the great cities have been made possible by the self-sacrifice of hundreds of physicians. There are thousands of American doctors today who ask no more of an income than that which society ought to give us all if we render our best service to it. Medical men labor very largely because they want to serve their fellows.

Then there are the teachers. Their wages have never been high; in many cases they have been pitifully meagre. Many of our teachers are men and women who could easily have made some of the big money to be found in the business world had they gone in for that life. They have not done so because they have caught the vision of what education may do for youth. They have wanted to prepare the new generation better than the old has been prepared. They have wanted to

serve their fellows. It is for this that they have given up other chances and have stuck to a hard and nerve-wracking task with all the discouragements politicians and dull officials have thrown in the way.

Nor should we forget the thousands of men and women who under various labels and with varying degrees of skill have been battling for a new social order. Men and women have seen the injustices of our present society and have beheld the vision of what the world may become. I have met them all over the country; they have gone out and distributed literature from house to house without one cent of pay; they have given of their time and energy to the making of speeches in political campaigns and between those campaigns. These men are true "Comrades" who have given every moment of their spare time to advancing what they believed to be the cause of the workers. They have called themselves socialists, I. W. W.'s, communists, they have used a dozen other labels but they have been fired by the same zeal. Of course, many of them have been mistaken. Some of the ideas most sincerely advanced and passionately advocated would give us worse conditions that we have today. But all that is really beside the point. What we must look at is the clear and inescapable fact that they made sacrifices and labored in season and out of season

without thought of themselves for the benefit of their fellows. No material reward could ever be theirs. There was no office to which they could look forward; there was no recognition in the newspapers; there was no pay in the usual sense of the word. They worked because they cared for their fellows, because they wanted to abolish injustice and poverty and war and all the other woes that torment men today. They were moved by the service motive.

Moreover each of us knows in his own heart that the finest things done for us have been done not because we were ready to pay for them. They were done because somebody cared for us and wanted to help us. The attentions given by a friend are attentions that cannot be bought. O, perhaps, superficially they may be but when they are, one buys only that which is the shell, the meat has been taken out. Such favors have the form; they do not have the substance. In these cases the real motive is the service motive, the desire to help prompts these acts. Some of us have found ourselves homeless and friendless and have turned to a settlement worker or a church worker. We have been given counsel and help; we have been given a new start. And why has this aid been given? It has been given not because the man in the church or settlement has been paid to do it. For most of these men and women are paid far less

than they could obtain in business. They have helped their fellows and they have been glad to help them because they were spurred on by the very love of humanity and their desire to serve.

So it is that when we look at the activities of soldiers, of doctors, of teachers, of workers in the labor and radical movement, missionaries and dozens of others there is plenty of evidence for believing in the power of the service motive. We have ample practical demonstration of its power.

But along with this practical consideration there is a theoretical one which may give us more confidence in the service motive. Remember that today our educational process is largely directed toward the goal of getting on. We are taught by the school and the press to worship success and by success we generally mean material success. The possession of money has become the official badge of that success. The men who have acquired are the men who have the prestige, the men to whom we pay respect. In all this the service motive tends to be crowded out. If our social order were to be based upon that motive we would then try to do all in our power through schools and the other means of influencing the public mind to teach the importance and value of doing our task for the good of our fellows. We would become trained in that direction just as today we are trained to seek our personal well-being. We

would be, in the language of the psychologists, "reconditioned." We would become habituated to respond to those stimuli that looked in the direction of the common good rather than in the direction of our own personal interest. We have good reason for believing that we are not dealing with a human nature which has become completely and finally set in the direction of personal acquisitiveness. Of course there is plenty of that in human nature but we know that men and women and especially children can be taught to respond in other ways. J. B. Watson, the behaviorist, may not be entirely right in all his psychological theories but he has certainly shown us that many things we had thought of as original in human nature are merely the result of training. Heredity does not loom so large as it did a few years ago. In childhood human nature can be changed and developed into human nature that is somewhat different from the human nature which we know today. If human society were organized around the service motive the on-coming generation would have that motive much more strongly developed than we have it now.

So both from the practical point of view and the theoretical it would appear that there is enough power in the service motive to base our economic system upon it. But in saying this we must look forward to an educational process that

will persist for several generations. At the beginning it is quite possible that the service motive alone will not be strong enough. It is an open secret that in Russia there is an appeal to several other motives besides that of service. It will probably be so in every country that moves toward some form of planned production. But there are other motives to which from the standpoint of religion, legitimate appeal may be made. There are other motives which are not selfish in the sense that they are exercised at the expense of others. Let us glance briefly at two or three of them.

There is first of all the zest which a healthy man feels for his job. Of course, in this age of machinery there is not the same chance of getting fun out of work that there once was but even so there are many lines of endeavor which those adapted to them will find satisfying. There are opportunities in teaching for those who like to teach; there is the whole field of medicine for those who have the talent for it; there are almost limitless opportunities for engineers and technicians, for a mechanical power society such as ours must lean heavily upon them; there will always be the need for wise and gifted counsellors who, like some of our devoted pastors and psychiatrists, can help people with their personal problems. There will always be the need for singers and

actors and dancers, and in fact for artists in every form of artistic endeavor. Some years ago it was my privilege to meet the head of the British Society of Magicians. It was thrilling to find this man so enamored of his work. He saw the possibilities in it, the chances to amuse men and women and children, the chance to make them forget their troubles. That man was getting a real exaltation out of his work. I was impressed then as I am now with the importance of placing everyone in some position where he can do the thing he likes to do. Even in a society where so much is to be done by machinery there is still left a wide range of opportunity for putting the right men into the right jobs. There are interesting jobs tending machines. Moreover it might be possible in some lines of work to shift workers from one kind of labor to another. There are, it is scarcely necessary to say, limits to this, but much could be done along this line in giving thousands more satisfaction in their daily work. Put in a sentence, it would be possible and it would be legitimate for a society to depend to some extent upon the desire we all have to exercise whatever skill we may possess. There is something in the cry of "Work for work's sake."

Coupled with this, a society which is striving to base its life on a motive other than the one of personal gain may still place some reliance upon

the desire for social approval. If a society gave proper recognition to those who serve it that recognition would go a long way in inspiring that service. If a man rendered conspicuous service in organizing an industry, or in science, in art, in improving an industrial process or along any other line that was useful to his fellows that fact ought to be made known and proper recognition given him. The names of those who did unusually skillful work might be published in the press, their pictures might be shown and badges of merit bestowed. In the old Greek games there was no money prize but men threw themselves with all their energy into the race because of the laurel crown. This crown had no money value but it was tangible recognition of the fact of preëminence. To get the world's work done we might properly, for a time at least, appeal to this motive. It is not the highest motive but in a transitional period it would be helpful.

Along with the motive of work for work's sake and the desire for social approval it is likely that some use might be made of the desire for adventure which always sleeps within us. An appeal may be made to face hardship and try new ways just to see where it will all lead. This motive may be particularly helpful in the very beginning of the period which rejects the profit motive. In fact any human society which takes all the adventure

out of life, which makes things too certain, is doomed. We cannot tolerate too much drabness. There must always remain some place in our economy for the spirit of adventure.

But all of these motives, the desire to exercise one's powers in work, the desire for social approval and the desire for adventure are only supports to what religious men believe must ultimately become the dominant motive, the desire to serve one's fellows. That desire has been built up within us through millennia of the evolutionary process. Had man not coöperated with his fellow man he would not have secured the mastery over nature and the animals which he holds today. And that desire is destined to grow stronger. Even now many of us have found that there is no happiness like the happiness which comes from doing useful work, or at least work we believe to be useful. If from this useful work every man could secure those necessaries of life which would keep him in health and decency and could know that no one else was going to secure more by taking some underhanded advantage, this desire for service would call out the energies of men sufficient to meet all our economic needs.

There is an old story in the Hebrew Scriptures which recounts how the exiled Jews came back home to rebuild the demolished city of Jerusalem. The writer of that story tells of the success of

their plan and he adds these words: "So built we the wall, and all the wall was joined together unto the half thereof; for the people had a mind to work." Now they had a mind to work because their hearts were filled with the spirit of adventure and because this work brought social approval but above all they had the mind to work because they were fired with the desire to serve their nation and people. In our own country during the Great War we sent millions of troops to France, we put millions more to work making munitions of war and yet we were able to feed and clothe the people at home better than they had ever been fed and clothed before. Why was this? The answer is easy. We paid some attention to social production. It was not helter-skelter; it was planned. But above all the people had a mind to work. They worked for patriotic reasons which is but another way of saying that they worked to serve their fellows, because they were a part of a common enterprise.

Nor in all this must we forget that many and many a man is held to his task, many a man takes the hard unrewarding job because he believes that in doing it he is serving the very spirit of the universe, God, himself. Religion has been, and is today, and will continue to be a great incentive. Link this up with the desire to serve one's fellows and we have a combination that will stand almost

any stress and strain. So as we look at these facts some of us are convinced that the motive of service is far stronger than is usually believed; we are convinced too that human nature is sufficiently pliable so that this motive can be made to function even more adequately than it does today, that it is strong enough to get the work of the world done. We are convinced that it is strong enough to stand the strain of maintaining a just and intelligent economic structure. Moreover we are convinced that such an economic structure which is based upon production to meet the needs of men rather than for private profit is as certain to displace what we now have as it is certain that the laws of mathematics will be as valid tomorrow as they are today. To the religious consciousness the profit motive seems in very truth a drag upon the material and spiritual progress of the race. We look forward confidently to the time which Kipling described in "When Earth's Last Picture Is Painted," and we have faith that the time will come when men will not work for money or for fame but for the sheer joy of the working. Nay more we have faith that the day is even now at hand when men need not be driven to their tasks by the scorpion whip of necessity or kept at them by feeding the fires of their greed.

CHAPTER VI

SLAVERY AND THE RISE OF SOCIAL CLASSES

THOUSANDS of years ago, before the dawn of recorded history, tribe fought tribe for the possession of land and goods. It is reasonable to suppose that for ages the conclusion of such tribal war was complete extermination except for the women and children. These were made captive and assimilated into the victorious tribe. But one day there came the thought in the mind of some crafty human that the male captives need not be killed but that they could be made to work for their captors. We do not know exactly when this plan appeared or where. It is probable, however, that this custom of making slaves of the men seized in war did not come into existence until the stone ages had given way to the age of metal. This seems an eminently reasonable surmise for it was only in the iron age that men were able to make an effective device for holding the slave. That device was the ball and the chain. The invention of the ball and the chain made it possible to hold the slave and make him work.

One's imagination need not be particularly

active to sense the physical pain that the captors inflicted as they welded the anklet with its great chain and massive ball. That pain must have been almost beyond human endurance. It is likely that thousands died under the cruelty of it. But there were many others that did not die. They recovered their strength and were put to work. It is not difficult to picture something of the rage and resentment that must have burned in the hearts of these slaves, these poor wretches who had had their freedom filched from them. For a time it must have been dangerous for the slave makers to go near the newly made slaves. After a time, however, the soreness wore off and the lash wore on. The slave came to understand that if he did not work he would not eat. Moreover it is easy to understand that as the years went on the sense of independence which is the birthright of a normal human being gave way to a sense of dependence. Initiative was weakened; self-respect was weakened; pride and courage oozed away. It probably did not require many generations of slavery to break the spirit completely and bring the victims to the point where the ball and chain were no longer necessary. Men, like horses, were broken in. Slavery became a part of the set-up of human life. The institution of slavery was established. Society was divided into two groups, the slaves and their masters. As our anthropologists

point out, man did not start with the handicap of social inequality. It was slavery which cleft human society in twain. Because of this institution great masses of men came to have a feeling of inferiority, the feeling that they had to take their directions from others. While it is probably too much to claim that the slave mentality became a part of the germ plasm of the race, the social inheritance of slavery accomplished the same result.

Human slavery as an institution was a going concern in the earliest historical times. The Egyptian pyramids were built by slaves. Slavery was an accepted order among the Hebrews of Bible times. In Greece in the Fourth Century B.C. there were four slaves to every free man. In the Athenian state there were 12,000 urban citizens, 50,000 rural citizens and 430,000 slaves. The slave status was hereditary and in addition more slaves swelled the ranks through the custom of selling children into slavery and by impressing the captives taken in battle. By systematic terrorism the Greeks kept the slave mind thoroughly in check and completely subordinated. Torture was not unusual. When Greece gave way to Rome the slave system was continued and extended. Laws were invented by the masters to keep the slaves in their place. Slaves were made a separate class in every respect. So well established did the in-

stitution of slavery become that, except for the fresh captives who had to learn what they must do, physical restraint was not necessary. The laws of the state taught the slave his place and held him there. The shackles were not so much on the slave's body; they were now fastened on his mind. The sense of independence, the ability and willingness to look after one's self became little more than relics in the slave brain. Of course, once in a while there were slave insurrections. When this happened the Romans caught the rebellious slaves and crucified them on posts stuck up by the roadway so that all other slaves might see and remember. The process is thus vividly described by one writer:

"They were impaled upon wooden stakes, sharpened and hardened by fire, driven through the back below the shoulders and coming out through the mouth. On the occasion of one uprising in Sicily 20,000 slaves were thus suspended from crosses erected for miles, like telegraph poles, along the principal highways."

Let the reader picture to himself the untold masses of men subjected for literally ages to this life of slavery. See how inevitable it was that a slave mentality should be built up in the slave body. Our students of the life of primitive men make it clear that there was a rough equality among them. But with this long tutelage in slavery masses of men began life with a consciousness

of inferiority. Slavery cut human society in two, dividing it artificially into the upper and lower classes, which divisions are now almost universal and accepted by most of us as inevitable, as just a part of the order of nature.

When the Roman Empire broke up great masses of slaves were freed. But as a writer of that day put it, "They were slaves and yet they were not slaves." So these millions went into the Dark Ages as serfs. The slave mentality continued. They thought of themselves as inferior and the lords thought of themselves as superior. Then came the industrial era and right at hand there was a mass of human beings ready to do what they were told. It wasn't necessary to capture them in the old way and put them in chains. The promise of outside support in the form of wages made recapture relatively easy. Just a show of authority and the deed was done. Right at the moment when humanity was showing hopeful signs of recovery from the mental and spiritual wounds of slavery the factories were opened up and our modern industrial age was under way.

It would be easy to elaborate this story of the rise and effect of human slavery but this brief summary is sufficient to make the point. In the old days of primitive society there was no such thing as social inequality. Then probably early in

the iron age that monstrous institution was invented. Once started it continued all through the ancient world dividing human society into slave and free. It is out of this basic condition that our social classes have developed and have continued down to the present. Slavery passed into the institution of serfdom and the serfs were finally absorbed into the factory system. But it is most important for us to remember that all through the centuries there persisted the slave mentality. One vast section of the human race has had it ground into the very fibre of its being that it is inferior. There is in fact a kind of class inferiority complex. While chattel slavery is abolished the evil mental and spiritual inheritance of it still persists. The natural equality of men has been disguised and thwarted by slavery and the class society which it has transmitted to us. A comprehension of this basic fact will go a long way in helping us to understand the real nature of the struggle which goes on today. At bottom this struggle which goes under the name of the labor movement, the radical movement, social unrest, the class struggle, and so forth, is a struggle on the part of the masses of men to recapture that equality which slavery filched from them. Millions of men in this land and millions in other lands are struggling and striving today toward the goal of economic equality. To some of them

it is a conscious aim, to many more it is an unconscious aim but to all it is the goal. No appreciation of our present social problem is possible without an understanding of this fact. But is economic equality a desirable goal? I am convinced that it is but I will not adduce reasons in one, two, three order for this opinion but rather call attention to certain basic facts which look in that direction. I will in fact make four or five observations which I believe will help us to see this social drive for equality in its true light.

The first of these observations is the patent one that those striving for economic equality are not absurdly denying that great natural differences exist among men. Of course such differences exist. It is impossible to close our eyes to this fact. Men are not equal in physical strength for even a child can see the immense superiority of a Gene Tunney over a Gandhi. They are not equal in mental ability for the gulf which separates Einstein from most of us is self-evident. They are not equal in moral stamina for the distance between an Al Capone and a Tolstoi is immeasurable. But this type of criticism of the goal of economic equality is childish and beside the point. Just because there are these differences in ability is no more a reason for denying economic equality than they are cause for denying legal equality.

And this brings us to our second consideration,

namely, that it took a long hard battle, a battle not yet completely won, to establish the principle of legal equality. It is the merest truism to say that in the days of slavery there was one law for the slave and another for the master. A master might kill a slave with impunity but if a slave even struck a master it was death and possibly death by torture. What was condoned in the master was a criminal offense for the slave. This was true in the days of Rome, and when the Roman Empire broke up and the long night of the Middle Ages settled down there remained this survival or hangover of legal inequality. The lord had rights which the serf did not have. There was one law for the noble and another for the peasant. Moreover there was one law for the clergy and another for the layman. It was revolutionary teaching which was written into the Magna Charta in England that a man must be tried by a jury of his peers. The battle has been long and vigorous to secure the acceptance of the principle that all men are entitled to the equal protection of the laws.

Needless to say this equal protection of the laws has not been secured one hundred per cent or anything near it. We know full well that it is possible for a rich man to buy better legal talent than the poor man and so get his case more adequately set forth even before an impartial

court. But we know still more than that. We know from the revelations of the Seabury investigating committee that oftentimes there is an approach made to the judges outside office hours and we know that this approach is frequently considerably more effective than that made in the court room. As the New York politician said when he was asked if he knew the law in a particular case, "No, but I know the judge." It is perfectly true that all too often influence is brought to bear which makes a farce of the principle of equality before the law. Yes, even more than that we know that in our courts even without the passing of any actual bribe the judges incline more favorably to the side of the employers. The property bias of the Supreme Court is well known. Moreover we know that in great sections of our country there is one law for the negro and another for the white man. The Scottsboro case of the negro lads is showing us that. However, even when every allowance is made for the class nature of much of our justice it still remains the fact that equality before the law is our ideal and this ideal is realized in great areas of our national life. We have made some real advance toward equality since the days of chattel slavery. The first advance was the freeing of those slaves and this second advance is equality before the law.

Out of this fact arises our third observation which is that the time has come for us to advance boldly toward the goal of economic equality. At once we hear an old objection. It is an objection made vivid in the story of one of the Rothchilds who was told that all the property of the world ought to be divided equally. He replied by handing the speaker a franc saying that was one share of it. If we put it in more definite language, the objection is this, there is just so much income in this country. Even though you divided that income equally there would still be poverty for there just isn't enough to go around. We may see many men with incomes of millions but even if these vast sums coming annually to our Rockefellers and our Fords were taken from them, there are so many to divide among that the general average income would not be made very much greater than it is right now. There is, of course, a real measure of truth in all this. Even in rich United States we are not yet actually producing enough to give all the people the necessaries and comforts of life. But the answer to this fact is found in realizing that we now have tremendous wastes. We throw away money in useless advertising, that is, useless from the point of society; we let part of the people have useless luxuries before the rest are fed; we spend a good deal of our energy in making things which are not

useful, things that promote ill-being rather than well-being. But above all we do not take this new machine technique, which has been developed with such startling rapidity since the industrial revolution and particularly in the last twenty-five years, and use it with the efficiency and coördinated effort which are so much needed. If we rightly coördinated our efforts our engineers tell us that it would be quite possible to give us all the necessaries and usual comforts of life and ask each able-bodied worker to work only 665 hours each year. There was an excuse for slavery in the old days of the great slave empires when they had to depend upon hand labor. But we have shifted from a civilization dependent upon human and animal labor to one based upon mechanical energy. As one of our engineers, Samuel S. Wyer of Columbus, Ohio, puts it, "In the United States from 1900 to 1928, that is during this 20th century period, in million horsepower animal muscle declined from 22.5 to 20.6 or 8%, mechanical power increased from 47.5 to 1005.4 or 2016%, the total installed horsepower increased from 70 million to 1,026 million." There is now such a powerful economic instrument in our hands that there is no longer the slightest excuse for not giving all an abundance. If every one can be given an abundance there is now no longer any real social excuse for piling up goods in the hands of

the few. For the first time in human history it becomes a practicable possibility to have economic equality on a national scale.

In the fourth place we may observe that we are led to the same conclusion on moral grounds. It is the only way we can achieve a stable human society with the individual members of it reasonably happy. There is a college in the central west where for quite a period of years the teachers were paid equally and where we are informed the faculty was noted for its harmony and the fine *esprit de corps* which animated it. Then a new administration came in and the new president said that such equality was not business-like, that there must come a more usual way. So the pay of some of the instructors was increased; they were paid at about the figure their services would bring in the college professor market. The result of this new policy has been that the college faculty is now torn by jealousies; there is bickering and friction, and constant effort is being made by faculty members to get ahead of one another in pay and the emoluments of office. Now these teachers of youth are engaged in the great American game of trying to keep up with the Joneses. Human happiness depends not on what men actually have but what they have in comparison with others. It is not too much to say that we are going to have class conflict and an unstable human society

just as long as there is substantial inequality in economic incomes.

Some fifty years ago the great English writer, Matthew Arnold, pointed out that inequality was incompatible with the spirit of humanity and the sense of the dignity of man as man. "On the one side," he said, "inequality harms by pampering; on the other by vulgarizing and depressing. A system founded on it is against nature and, in the long run, breaks down." We need to be reminded of this often forgotten fact that inequality harms the privileged as well as the underprivileged. It tends to make them soft in their mental and moral fibre. They are shielded from the bitter winds of life and they can never develop the strength which comes from meeting the difficulties on one's own merits. Such inequality as is the lot of some of our wealthy families today is a moral curse too, for it allows them to do as they wish and sets little curb upon their appetites. Moreover it has a tendency to weaken their capacity for impartial ethical judgment. As R. H. Tawney,* the English economist, says, "Inequality pads the lives of its beneficiaries with a soft down of consideration, while relieving them of the vulgar necessity of justifying their pretensions and secures that if they fall they fall on cushions. It disposes us on the

* "Equality," published by Harcourt, Brace and Company. Quoted by permission.

one hand, to take for granted ourselves and our own advantages, as though there were nothing in them which could possibly need explanation, and, on the other hand, to be critical of claims of similar advantages advanced by our neighbors who do not yet possess them." This same thought was even more vividly expressed by an ancient Hebrew writer, Ben Sira, when he said, "When a rich man is shaken he is held up by his friends, but when a lowly man falls he is thrust away by his friends. When a rich man is fallen there are many helpers. He says unmentionable things and men justify him; a lowly man falls, and men rebuke him; he utters wisdom and no attention is given him." It is well for us to remember in all our thought about this question that inequality has a pernicious effect upon the privileged as well as upon the unprivileged. The spiritual successors of the slave owners are victims of social inequality, too. Both economic and moral considerations make clear that the time has come and the hour has struck for us to advance boldly toward the goal of economic equality.

And now our fifth and most important observation: To achieve this desirable economic equality we must change both our economic organization and our attitude. We must change our economic organization quite frankly with the goal in mind of achieving a much more equitable distribu-

tion of economic goods. Even a moment's thought makes clear that this cannot be done by the simple process of taking the total income of the country and dividing it equally. Little could be accomplished in that way. What we need instead is, through taxation of the great incomes, to get more and more governmental income which can be used in social services. A few more dollars added to average individual incomes would not make better hospital and medical services available to any substantial extent. But if many millions more were spent by the state and nation and city upon these services, making them available to all, our health standards would be definitely raised. In the same way high taxes upon the large incomes would make it possible to have better housing for the industrial population of our cities. By adding a few dollars to the income of all of us we could not afford much better homes than we do at present, but if these millions in taxation were pooled by the government and used to provide better homes, these homes would be forthcoming. And it almost goes without saying that we must make our best educational facilities open and available to all. In the same way we could make immense progress toward improving the roads of the country. There are over 200,000 unprotected grade crossings in this country which need to be wiped out. Moreover there is need for more recreational

facilities for the public, golf courses, tennis courts, ball fields, skating rinks and the like. The list is long of those facilities which have in previous days been open only to those who could pay for them but which today could be available to all of us. Such an approach to our problem, rather than any arbitrary dividing up, would give us the advantages which come from large-scale production. We could do for a million people in a collective way at a small per capita cost what we could not do at all by merely giving each one a little larger income. Thereby the real income as distinguished from the money income of the average man would be greatly increased. As an English economist well says: "A small sum spent collectively on needs which are urgent yield more significant results than a larger sum spent in driblets on needs which are not." So it seems fairly obvious that our first step in reorganizing our economic life with the goal of equality before us is to increase the social services furnished by the community by levying much higher taxes upon the great incomes of the community.

The second step toward this economic reorganization is one which needs to be stressed just as forcibly. And this step is inevitable, no matter how much it may go against our old prejudices and habits due to our American pioneering life. It becomes increasingly apparent that the eco-

nomic system is tending steadily toward some form of unified direction under state control. That issue between individualism and socialism has already been decided. The great industries which now have a stranglehold upon the life of the people must and will be taken over by the community as a whole. It is suggestive to note that practically every proposal being made today to meet the industrial crisis we face calls for some kind of planned production. Whether it be communism, socialism, fascism, or the "Swope plan," all of these are plans. And it is difficult to see how there can be any plan without some agency to enforce that plan, and the only possible agency is the government. It alone has the requisite power and authority. By taking over such key industries as power, banking and credit, the means of communication such as the telephone and the telegraph and the radio, our great natural resources such as the forest and the mines, it would be possible to eliminate those who now tyrannize over us. Such a move would prevent the exploitation by the few of these basic necessaries. Such a move would in addition increase every man's feeling of self-respect by giving him the consciousness that these basic industries were as truly owned by him as by anyone.

Faced with the question of the kind of economic organization necessary to produce substan-

tial economic equality, it appears that our first obvious steps are to increase the services rendered by the community to its members and so increase the real income of our people, coupling with this the taking over by the community of the basic industries.

Out of all this grows our sixth and final observation, namely this: Men today have economic inequality because they constantly think of themselves as inferior. That old slave mentality persists. Men are dominated over because they let themselves be thus dominated. The ultimate basis of the power wielded by the holders of privilege is the consent of the unprivileged. It is the belief on the part of those who submit that these privileged ones can confer benefits and inflict evils. This power is unquestionably there and it is terrible. But it is also fragile. To destroy it men have only to be indifferent to its threats. They have only, as Gandhi has pointed out, to refuse to coöperate in it.

A profane but wise man once defined Utopia, or the ideal state, as one in which any man could say to any other man, "Go to Hell," but where no man wants to say it and no man need go when it is said. If the masses of men, if the industrial workers want to be treated as equal, they need to think of themselves as men and not mere underlings. There must come a new attitude. We need

to give heed to the words of Jesus, the Galilean carpenter, "Call no man your master." The vast majority of our workers today, even those best organized, are too ready to forget fundamental issues and allow themselves to be bought off with a little increase in pay or a slight reduction in hours. They are too willing to accept the point of view of their masters, to feel that these same masters possess some mysterious wisdom which enables them to bring prosperity or depression. They are too apt to bow in reverence before them with all the fear of the savage before the medicine man. Even labor leaders seem overawed by the privilege of saluting the economically great. Inequality is a set of ideas in the back of men's minds and it will never be destroyed until those ideas are changed. Money tyrannizes over us today because of our own reverence for it.

To put it in a few words—it is the desire for equality which gives the drive to the mass movements of today. It is out of this passion that there arises what we call the class struggle, the democratic movement and all the rest. We are actually and at bottom trying to destroy the monstrous inheritance of human slavery which has dogged man's footsteps down through the ages. It is equality which the colored races are seeking as they face the white man's world; it is equality which the workers really want and for which they

will battle till they get it. To secure this basic good is difficult; it will probably take generations, so ingrained in the very fibre of our being is the illusion that we must be unequal in our social privileges. But we must battle for it and the spearhead of that attack today is found in the economic struggle. But to achieve success in any worthwhile way means far more than each man demanding his rights, it means that each man must think just as much, yes still more, of his duties, of the responsibility that membership in the human family lays upon him of serving that family. Each of us must learn to think not merely of what he can get but of what he can give. There never can come real equality until we are willing to chart our lives by the words, "Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you." And those ringing words of that Galilean carpenter and prophet, "The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them and they that exercise authority upon them are called benefactors. But ye shall not be so but he that is greatest among you let him be as the younger and he that is chief as he that doth serve." As Socrates said, "It is evident not in one thing alone, but on all sides of life, how excellent a thing is equality among men."

CHAPTER VII

THE RÔLE OF MACHINERY IN THE PRESENT CRISIS

WHO killed cock robin? Who murdered the prosperity of which we boasted in 1928 and '29? Was it Ivan Kreuger or Pierpont Morgan or Herbert Hoover? Thousands of harassed and despairing Americans are asking that kind of question. They do not agree as to the name of the particular devil responsible for our present plight but that there is some devil they all agree. They believe that somebody, or possibly some bodies, have brought us where we are. But anyone who allows his thinking to go deeper than the natural blind resentment we all feel at losing our money, our income and our job, cannot put the question quite that way. It is hardly plausible to blame one man or even a few men for what is a world disaster. Even if the particular criminals we single out had been asphyxiated four or five years ago the situation wouldn't be much different from what it is today. Even if the famous Wall Street bomb had blown the whole street to pieces the depression would still have come. The question is not

who brought the industrial crisis. It is rather what brought it? The disaster which has been visited upon us cannot be explained as the work of a few men. It is rather the result of great economic forces which man has not yet learned to control. To seek to understand those forces is our first duty. It is the only logical first step out of the economic morass into which we have fallen.

When we ask the causes of this world-shaking calamity we find no simple answer is possible. Men who have given their lives to the study of economic problems do not agree. They quite rightly point out to us that unemployment is not always due to the same cause. They explain very properly that some unemployment is seasonal and is with us in good times and bad. They explain, too, that under our present industrial set-up our production proceeds in waves. We have boom times and hard times. In the boom times a good share of our people have steady employment, but in the bad times millions are out of work. They call this cyclic unemployment. In addition to the seasonal unemployment and the cyclic, a great many men find themselves out of work because of new inventions, new machines and new processes which reduce the number of workers. To this our economists give the name technological unemployment. There is the natural suggestion in all this

that different remedies may be necessary for the different types of the unemployment disease.

However, the placing of labels on the kinds of unemployment, the mere assigning of names helps little in showing us the causes of the present distress. There is seasonal unemployment, there is cyclical unemployment; there is technological unemployment. All this is true, but none of us can forget that in October, 1929, there came the financial crash. We remember all too well that securities were thrown on the market in a frenzy of selling. We recall how prices dropped lower and lower. We recall how business slowed up, how the stores could not sell their goods and the factories could not market their products. We remember how thousands were laid off, then hundreds of thousands and millions. We saw the bread lines grow longer in the great cities. We saw the charitable and relief agencies taxed far beyond their resources. We saw the drives for relief funds. At last government and people alike began to realize that a catastrophe equal in destructiveness to a major war was upon us. Now as I write this in the fourth year of the depression we find multitudes without enough to eat, millions without work, other millions fear-haunted by the prospect that they too may be jobless.

And what shall be done? The proposals are legion. Economists, bankers, labor leaders, so-

cialists, employers, communists, and a host of others have what they insist is the one and only way out. There is confusion of counsel. It is likely that few have the full and complete solution; it is possible that no one has. But of this we may be sure—No solution will be found nor can be found until we know what the causes of the present disaster are. Until these causes are discovered no scientific solution of our economic problem is possible.

What is it then that has brought the modern world to the brink of the economic precipice and threatens to pitch us over? The very fact that so many divergent ideas are held concerning the proper answer to that question strongly suggests that there are several factors in our problem. Practically all students of the problem agree that such is the case. First of all we have not yet recovered from the Great War. The world is still convalescing from the disease that wracked it from 1914 to 1918. That war destroyed in property the equivalent of the total wealth of the United States. This destruction of wealth created an economic handicap which will take us years to overcome. But perhaps of even more importance, this war which was fought to end war left the world with a greater burden of armaments than ever before in its history. Mighty armies, navies and air fleets have been built up out of the taxpayer's

money. These war preparations are a terrific drain upon the resources of the peoples of the world. They give work for some but nowhere near the number that could receive work if these expenditures were put into more productive enterprise. If spending the taxpayers' money is the curse that we are constantly told, then it is well to remember that most of our federal taxation is levied for the support of war. And the Great War has affected us in another way: It has left us with the problem of the war debts. Germany has been asked to pay a huge reparations bill to the victors in the Great War. These creditors in turn are asked to repay the sums they borrowed of the United States. Germany has broken under the strain. She cannot pay back except in goods and these goods are not wanted as they demoralize the markets of the creditor nations. The poverty-stricken German people, with wages depressed to lower and lower depths, cannot buy foreign products as in former days. Most students of these problems are now convinced that no solution of the world crisis can be found until a more satisfactory solution is found to the war debts problem. It is likely that no substantial recovery in the United States or Europe can be looked for until these war debts are cancelled or substantially reduced. War must be set down as one of the great causes of the present disaster.

Again we must remember that for the most of the industrial nations of the world and certainly for ourselves, foreign markets are necessary if the wheels are to be kept turning and the workers employed. Whatever interferes with these foreign markets makes inevitably for unemployment. Excessive tariffs cause such interference. They provoke retaliation on the part of the countries affected by them and thus close the doors to our products, doors which would otherwise be open. Our tariff of 1930 cannot be said to have caused the depression, but it has made that depression more severe. It has in fact provoked the Canadian tariff which will cost our producers millions of dollars. Moreover, tariffs often result in higher prices, thus reducing the purchasing power of the masses. Not a few of our economists believe that no real prosperity can return until we greatly reduce the trade barriers which tariffs express.

Still another factor in the situation is the scarcity of gold considered in a previous chapter.

Another factor which has been operating to bring about the present crisis is the uneven distribution of income. The profits of modern industry have gone too much into the hands of the few. The masses have not had their share with the result that those masses have not had the buying power to give a constant and stable market. Great incomes to the few are not expended for

basic commodities in the same way the same amounts of money would be if paid out to more people in the form of higher wages. It is obvious that $100,000 put each year into the pocket of one man does not make the same demand for basic goods that it does when it goes into the pockets of fifty men. The individual man soon reaches the limit he can spend for food, clothing and the other necessaries and ordinary comforts of life.

In all this we have simply been pointing out that not one cause but many have been working to bring about the crisis we now face. We are still in the aftermath of those bloody years of 1914-18. War expenditures and war debts are taking their toll from the economic resources of our people. Taxes which business men tell us are strangling their business cannot be materially reduced unless we curtail our war expenditures. We are also reaping the harvest of our tariffs, which have destroyed our foreign markets and our faulty system of distribution which has vastly curtailed our home demand. And added to this in tying our money to gold, we have made ourselves victims of the fluctuations in the value of this metal. All these factors enter into the present world-wide depression. These factors must be considered in any fair appraisal of the situation we now face.

And yet important as these factors are, neces-

sary as it is that we reckon with them in seeking a solution of our economic problem, there is another factor which is still more fundamental. No real grasp of our industrial crisis is possible without the clear recognition that it has its origin in this new machine civilization which the western world has built up in the last two centuries. It is often said that there is nothing new under the sun but the widespread use of machinery which is characteristic of our age does seem to be new. There have been machines before and there have been factories such as those in ancient Egypt, but never, as far as we have any historical evidence, has man harnessed the forces of nature to his machines as we have today. Our science has made it possible to use the forces of nature to turn the revolving crank shaft, and since the perfecting of the steam engine in 1776 the use of this high power machinery has steadily increased. In high power machinery man has found a new way of meeting his economic needs. The industrial revolution which has been gathering momentum for the past one hundred and fifty years is a far greater revolution than any political revolution of which we have any knowledge. This industrial revolution marks the greatest change which has ever come in the life of man. Centuries ago man made his living by hunting; then he learned to keep flocks and herds, he became a shepherd;

then he learned to till the soil, he became a farmer. Now through the invention of high power machinery, man has become a tender of machines. Great factories with humming machines, automobiles crowding our highways, aëroplanes roaring overhead, fast steamships plying all the seas, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, electric irons lightening the labor of the housewife, all these and dozens of other inventions have revolutionized human life. Our present chaos is due primarily to our attempt to adjust ourselves to the high speed and the changed conditions brought by machinery.

For note just a few of those changed conditions. Machinery has made the world one neighborhood. The oceans are no longer a barrier. The Atlantic can be crossed in less than a week. This with perfect safety, while the aëroplane can make it in a few hours. We can talk with Africa or Australia. One man can literally talk to a listening world. No nation can any longer live unto itself. We cannot solve our economic problems without giving considerable attention to those of other nations.

Again, it is the machine that has brought us the present chaos in morals. It has broken down the old standards and we have not yet found new ones. In old days the family was a productive unit. Now the economic factor works to break it

down. The wife goes away from the home to work. The children very early do the same. Children are an economic liability rather than an asset. Large families are no longer economically helpful. The machine has placed woman on a basis of complete equality with man. She has acquired this equality by becoming man's fellow slave to the machine. This is the underlying reason for the confusion in ethics and morals.

Moreover our machine technique has made it possible for us to have comforts and luxuries which man has never had before. We can have the products of all lands brought to our door. We can have the fruits of the Tropics and the furs of the Arctics. We can have the cold in summer and the heat in winter. We are no longer dependent in the old way upon the caprice of nature. The machine technique can give us more in quantity and generally speaking a better quality than mankind has ever been able to enjoy before.

But this very machine civilization has increased the destructiveness of war. It has put weapons into the hands of man such as he has never had in previous ages. Man used to kill by retail, now he can do it on the wholesale plan. Moreover, to keep the machines going markets and raw materials are necessary. The rivalry for these is intensified and the probabilities of great wars increased. In a machine civilization when war comes

the chances are that the whole world will be caught in it.

Furthermore, the machine has decreased man's satisfaction in his work. To an increasing extent the use of the machine means that the same process must be repeated over and over, the same motions made again and again. There is little variety in the work of the man who tends it. Also we must remember that the use of the machine technique requires ever more specialization. In the shoe factory there are over thirty processes for a single type of shoe. Each of these separate processes means a specialized job on a specialized machine. In the same shoe factory the visitor will find that millions of pairs of shoes are being made, but he will not find any single man making a whole pair of shoes. Thus the machine process deprives the worker of what was in the old craft days one of his greatest and deepest satisfactions; it deprives him of the joy of creating something. Now he makes only a little part of a something. The machine tends to rob the worker of the sense of achievement, so necessary to happiness. Then, too, we cannot forget that the machine process becomes ever more a speeding-up process. Men work on the belt. A definite process has to be accomplished in a definite time. There is little time for relaxation. Men find that eight hours of such pressure leaves them spent and exhausted.

It is this sense of being tied to the machine, of being robbed of the joy of achievement and the deadening monotony of it all that inevitably bring discontent and all the bitterness we associate with labor trouble. It is the machine which has given birth to the modern labor movement.

But possibly no better illustration of the far-reaching effect of man's discovery of high power machinery can be given than to point out the effect this use of machinery has upon religion. On the practical side the building up of our great factories has brought millions of erstwhile farmers into the great cities. The countryside has declined. Even before the depression the farmers were in dire straits. They were growing poorer. Farms were being abandoned and neglected. This meant that the institutions of the country were bound to decline. The church as one of those institutions most naturally suffered. The little country churches were closed. They could not be supported. But not merely were they hit by lack of finances. They were drained of their membership by the fact that the automobile could carry the farmer ten or twenty or thirty miles to church easier than he formerly went two or three or four. He could have better preaching in the larger centres and be part of a larger organization. He naturally went. Even those who did not join these larger churches could turn on their radios and

listen to the great metropolitan preachers. The country churches could not long survive.

Moreover, the machine technique has affected religion on the philosophical side. Machinery has lessened man's sense of a personal God by making the whole world seem a machine. There always has been this philosophical theory of an impersonal mechanistic universe, but it has not made much headway with the common man. Now it begins to do so just because the average man today is so thoroughly familiar with impersonal machinery. Also he has come to feel that he can control nature. He is no longer under it. Especially does the city dweller, who by the push of a button can have light and heat or by the turn of the faucet have hot or cold water or by the turn of the dial hear music hundreds of miles away, feel that there is little of which to be in awe. Living in the city amid the mechanical marvels, he has none of that awe of nature and the power behind it which the man dependent upon agriculture is bound to feel. Moreover, constant familiarity with machinery has made man seem to himself a mere cog in the factory. He tends to think of himself as a machine. Thinking in this way he no longer feels that reverence for personality either of himself or his neighbor which lies at the heart of ethical religion. When we think of the mighty impact of the machine civilization we can understand why

there should be something of a decline in religious institutions and an increasing skepticism about religion itself.

The machine has made the world a unity in a way it has never been before. The machine has loosened family bonds and thrown morals into confusion. The machine has increased our productive capacity beyond the dreams of the ancients. The machine has increased the destructiveness of war and made it more probable. The machine has decreased the sense of satisfaction in work. The machine has weakened the average man's religious consciousness. The machine has done all of these things and many more which further analysis would reveal. Like the genii of Aladdin's lamp we have summoned it forth and the speed with which it has answered our wants has appalled us. It is the mighty development of high power machinery which has altered our laws, our customs, our institutions and our ways of thinking. Not until this fact is clearly seen can we even begin to understand the industrial plight in which we now find ourselves. But let us make this still more clear.

Few of us yet realize the tremendous weapon which was placed in man's hand when the development of high power machinery got under way. From the time of the James Watts steam engine in 1765 the rapidity of invention has

increased. Practicable use of the steamboat came in 1807 and was followed by the locomotive in 1829. In 1834 came the reaper, which revolutionized the work of the farmer. In 1846 came the sewing machine and in 1865 the Bessemer steel process was invented. In 1876 came the telephone and about the same time the gas engine. In 1900 the Diesel engine was perfected. In the last ten years we have seen the rapid development of the radio and the aëroplane. And this is but to mention a few of the hundreds of inventions which have come with accelerating speed upon us. Machines and ever more machines. All this has enormously increased the power available for the use of man. As Stuart Chase points out, the total man and animal power of North America and western Europe probably does not exceed sixty million horse power, but the total horse power available in the engines of the two continents is well over a billion. This means that we have increased our available power in the past century some fifteen hundred per cent. The "Technocracy" group may not have been one hundred per cent right in all their illustrations, but their general point cannot be disproved. These engineers tell us that:

"For 7,000 years of social history, work was done by manual labor and no appreciable change in the rate of performing tasks took place. Then within the last 100

years we have multiplied the original output rate of the first or human engine by 9,000,000 as expressed in a modern energy transversion unit. Most of this advance or 8,766,000 of the 9,000,000 increase, has come within the last 25 years." *

These engineers tell us that the mighty change which has come so suddenly upon us may be expressed in another way. Again I quote:

"The social orders of Egypt, Greece, Rome and the Middle Ages succeeded in organizing a particular area of the world's surface and utilized such areas to obtain the maximum physical security possible under existing limitations. These limitations prescribed that its upper limits were from 1600 to 2000 K. G. calories consumption per capita per day. We have no instance in previous social history of an agrarian economy exceeding these limits. Social mechanics remained in this order of magnitude until the arrival of technology. Today in North America, we have reached an energy consumption of 150,000 K. G. calories per capita per day."

Doesn't this make it plain to the dullest of us that the real source of our modern chaos is found in this fact of the sudden onrush of machinery? All is confusion because we are trying to adjust institutions and customs built up through all past social history to the new technique of production which has hit us in the last century and a half, but particularly in the last twenty-five years. The

* From Address by Howard Scott, National Director of Technocracy, Inc. Quoted by permission.

rapidity of the change has literally taken our breath away.

When the industrial revolution first came, men who lost their jobs turned in anger and destroyed the machines. But that did little good. History was against the workers. Breaking up the machines couldn't stop their development. But it soon developed that the workers got new jobs. The industrial revolution was hard upon individuals but in the long run more jobs were available than ever before, so that populations greatly increased in our industrial nations. Studying this development our economists have long maintained that there was really nothing for the workers to fear from the onrush of invention. Now, however, it begins to appear that this teaching is altogether too rosy. Men are losing their jobs through the ever-quickening invention of machines. In fact, Dr. Harry Laidler of the Bureau of Economic Research, tells us that though production increased greatly during the 1920's, perhaps twenty to twenty-five per cent, we were actually securing that production at the close of the period with 2,000,000 fewer workers than at the beginning. A few illustrations will show why this is so.

On the farm the tractor can do as much in a day as a team of horses could do in a week. Agricultural engineers tell us that the wheat crop of the United States in 1930 would have required

twenty million more men to harvest it half a century ago. In fact, the prediction is freely offered that electricity will in the not too distant future entirely do away with farm laborers. In the making of shoes one machine now replaces six to ten shoemakers. In the building industry one great steam shovel now does the work performed by two hundred unskilled laborers. One man used to saw a hundred feet of lumber in a day. Now with the use of machines he can saw 10,000 feet. In the making of hats, inventions during the past decade have made it possible for six men to do the work formerly done by thirty. The musicians are losing their jobs in the theatres because the new talking pictures bring their music along with them. Eleven men used to operate trains in the New York subways; now with automatic controls one motorman and one guard compose the crew. The radio public school service is now teaching thousands of classes with 40 to 60 children per class and actually cutting down the number of teachers formerly needed. It is estimated that in the past ten years the railroads alone have displaced 300,000 employees by improvements in machinery.

Nor has this process of technological development ceased during the depression. On the contrary, it has been accelerated. Industries have been forced to cut costs. They have discovered new processes and invented new machines to take

the place of as many workers as possible. A machine has been developed which will do away with the need for accountants and auditors in the operation of gasoline filling station chains. The machine keeps a record of each sale at all the individual stations, subtracts the amount of gasoline and oil from the amount on hand and carries the figures through to a total. Moreover, price changes are registered instantly in every station unit through the mere pressure of a button on the desk of the manager in a central office. Again a new machine has been installed in the central west to do the work of a sheet-steel rolling mill. Twelve men can operate it by merely pushing buttons. Another machine has displaced thousands of men engaged in the manufacture of auto bodies. It produces 10,000 frames daily and requires only 208 men to operate it. Machines for the manufacture of cigarettes have been improved to such an extent in the last two years that they produce from 2,500 to 2,600 cigarettes a minute, as compared with the old rate of 500 to 600. A factory for the manufacture of rayon yarn is almost completed in New Jersey which is entirely mechanical, with no workers needed in the plant. Moreover, there has been such improvement in production that in the brick-making field it will be entirely possible for 100 men working in five plants to manufacture all the brick produced in

2,370 plants in 1929. And so the story goes. Machines and ever more machines. Less and less use for human labor. In fact, one of our New York engineers tells us that plans and blue prints already exist which can be put into effect within a short time which will make it possible for all the automobile bodies needed in the United States to be made by four men and still give that four plenty of time to do other things. In fact, if the depression should suddenly lift and production should come right back to the 1929 peak, industry could be carried on with about half of the men employed in 1929.

Facts like these, and these are only a sample, ought to help us to understand that our real difficulty is the machine technique which has crashed upon us in the last few years. Goods have been produced far faster than we could absorb them with our present system of distribution. We have been thrown out of gear by this technological development. A new process throws thousands out of work almost overnight. A new machine destroys a whole trade. It is idle for us to believe that we can muddle through on any such tremendous problem. The economic teaching of a few years ago will not suffice. We can no longer hope that new trades and new occupations will be developed to take up all this labor slack. Millions of men are out of work who can never go back to

work. To quote the engineers of Technocracy again:

"After 1850 in the period immediately following the industrial revolution, displaced workers were reabsorbed in the expansion of general industrial development. Machinery and equipment could be made only by hand-tool methods; consequently large numbers could be re-employed. Today the development of a new industry does not mean any considerable increase in national employment except temporarily in the industry's formative stages. The moment the new industry reaches the state of organization defined as complete mechanization, or in other words, when it becomes a technological mechanism employment drops sharply and always tends to decrease further. The production of new equipment for a new industry means no great change in the numbers employed in machine tool fabrication, since the same process of mechanization has occurred in this field as elsewhere."

We can never hope again that the machine will solve its own problem.

This is the rôle of machinery in the present crisis. In a real sense it has brought that crisis. And just as truly it makes it impossible for the millions of the unemployed to go back to work in the same old way. The machines have displaced the man. And once we see this tremendous rôle of high power machinery in the civilization of today we will realize that our great problem is to find how to use this mighty weapon for the advancement and enhancement of human life. Today

there are those who will not admit there is any problem, who just muddle along hoping like Micawber that something will turn up. Today also there are reactionaries who say that there is no answer except to destroy the machine and go back to the old days of the handicrafts and the old ways of agriculture. In a sense the whole situation we face is similar to the situation faced by the people of Israel when they came to settle down in Canaan. There they found the licentious gods of the peoples, the fertility gods of agriculture. There were those among the people of Israel who said, let us worship the Baals of Canaan and give up our old ideals. There were those, too, like the Nazarites, who said, let us go back to the desert from whence we came. But there were also the prophets, those great religious leaders who said, let us adopt the new ways but preserve our own souls. Today we have such men as our Kentucky coal operators, such men as Insull and his ilk who will see no problem except that of how to take everything for themselves and give the workers little or nothing; we have, too, the Nazarites like Gandhi and Spengler who cry back, back to the old days of our fathers, to the handicrafts. Then, too, we have the prophets, our forward-looking men like our social radicals, who say there is nothing wrong with machinery in itself, but we must learn to conserve its benefits for all

rather than for the few. These are the men who would take this new weapon and use it to conquer man's foes rather than to turn it against himself. Here is machinery, high power machinery, the greatest boon which has ever come to man if it is used aright, the greatest curse if used wrongly. The challenge is upon us to use this mighty weapon to gain for all men the necessaries and comforts of life. For the first time in the life of mankind there is the chance to solve our economic problem fully and completely. But this will mean social intelligence. It will mean some kind of social planning. History has written finis to our old *laissez faire,* to our old individualism. The machine has become so mighty that only society itself can control it and direct it. But what an opportunity is ours, probably the greatest which has ever come to man. We have at last found the technique which can give all a standard of living beyond the dreams of kings and princes of other days. If we do not grasp our opportunity that technique will turn and rend us. If we do grasp it man will have solved the problem of the ages and will at last start on his real mission, the development of the truth, the beauty and the goodness which is inherent in his nature.

"Then at last shall all men have the goods of the earth without money and without price. And they shall all labor and be happy."

CHAPTER VIII

KARL MARX AND AMERICAN RADICALISM

No historical figure has a greater influence in our world today than Karl Marx. His ideas rule the lives of the hundred and sixty millions in Russia. His name and fame have spread far among the dense population of China. His teachings are finding much acceptance in Japan and its dependency, Korea. Marxians struggle with Gandhi for the leadership of the Hindus and Moslems in India. In Germany, in France, in England, in fact in all of Europe Marx and his monumental work "Das Kapital" are household words. In Latin America his ideas are becoming increasingly well known. Particularly in Mexico is his influence becoming ever deeper. In our own land our millions are also learning of Karl Marx and his destructive analysis of our social order. In nearly every country in the world the last few years have brought such rapid penetration of Marxian ideas that it is probably no exaggeration to say that Karl Marx is actually known to more people than Jesus of Nazareth.

And who was this man whose ideas have thus

captured the attention of such a large share of the human race? While bare historical facts can never explain the genius of a man, those facts are needed for clear understanding. Karl Marx, the real author of scientific socialism as distinguished from Utopian socialism, was born in Treves, southeastern Germany, May 5, 1818. His father was a Jewish lawyer. His father's father was a German rabbi. His mother was descended from a Dutch rabbi's family which had left Hungary and had gone to Holland in the seventeenth century. While the Marx family was Jewish it is interesting to note that it went over to Christianity when Karl was about six years of age. At that time the whole family were baptized as Protestants. Following his elementary education young Marx matriculated at the age of seventeen at the University of Bonn. The next year, however, he removed from there to Berlin University, where he threw himself into his studies with great vigor. Beer, in his "Life and Teachings of Karl Marx," describes him in his college days in these words: "He worked night and day, making abstracts of what he read, translating Greek and Latin, working at philosophical systems, setting down a considerable number of his own thoughts, and drafting outlines of philosophy and jurisprudence as well as writing three volumes of poems." In his university career he was captivated by the Hege-

lian philosophy, and this philosophical system with its "thesis, antithesis and synthesis" colored all his future work. In fact, it is impossible to understand Marx without some understanding of Hegel. As has been suggested, the student, Karl Marx, was a ceaseless worker. He was what college students today term a "Grind." His father had wanted him to be a lawyer, but he gave up this field and followed his natural philosophical bent, and in 1841, when only twenty-three, received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Young Marx applied for a lectureship in this field but his application was refused and he turned to free lance journalism. Just at this time a small group of liberal spirits in the Rhine Provinces founded a newspaper and Marx was asked to contribute to it. These contributions had such merit that when the editor resigned, Marx, then only twenty-four, was asked to take his place. It was at this point in his career that he was forced as editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung* to take an interest in economic problems. The paper had to deal with these questions, so Marx was compelled to study them. He became so engrossed that he soon retired from the paper to devote his time to them. In the years 1843 and 1844 he gave himself to these studies with all the enthusiasm and energy he had previously devoted to philosophy. Out of this study, at the age of twenty-six, he emerged

a socialist. Almost at the same time Marx became convinced that if any revolutionary change in industrial conditions was ever to be brought about, such change would come through the efforts of the industrial workers themselves and not through the owners of industry. About this time, too, Marx formed his lifelong friendship with Friedrich Engels, a young business man of Manchester, England, who was condemning the economic system in the name of justice, though like Marx, refusing to accept the socialist Utopia of Owen and others of that way of thinking. In 1845 Marx, at the instigation of the Prussian government, was forced to leave Paris and went to Brussels. There he stayed until the Revolution of 1848. During those years Marx read eagerly and studied zealously. He made contacts with other like-minded men and groups in various parts of Europe. In 1848 he and Engels issued the famous Communist Manifesto with its call to revolution. Those were stormy days in Europe, especially in France and Germany, but reaction triumphed in the end. Marx returned to Germany and became editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung,* which advocated the disarming of the owning classes and a reign of revolutionary terrorism. However, the workers of Germany gave little support and the paper suspended after a few months of struggle. Marx then went back

to Paris where he expected to see the red revolution, but instead met the counter revolution and was banished from Paris to London. It was in London that he spent most of the rest of his life, and it was in the famous British Museum that he did the research for his epoch-making book, "Das Kapital." For a part of those years Marx and his family were in dire want, but in the 1860's his fortunes were improved by a small legacy from a friend, Wilhelm Wolff, and by Engel's annual contribution of about 350 pounds. It was in those London years that Marx developed his thought and made his devastating analysis of the capitalist economic structure. He died in 1883 and was buried at Highgate Cemetery, London. Of him one of the fairest minded of our genuine students of economic and social structure, Harold J. Laski, writes: "In every country of the world where men have set themselves to the task of social improvement Marx has been always the source of inspiration and prophecy. Where he was also irresistibly right was in his prophecy that the civilization of his epoch was built upon sand. And even the faults of his prophecy may be pardoned to an agitator in exile to whom the cause of the oppressed was dearer than his own welfare."

Before turning to the basic ideas of the Marxian economics a brief word is probably in

order about the "Internationals," so often mentioned by economic radicals. In the year 1863 a gigantic protest meeting was arranged in London to protest against Russia's attack on Poland. At that time it was suggested that regular international meetings might be held and a conference was finally arranged in London in September of 1864. Marx was present as a representative of the German workers. Out of this conference grew the First International of Labor. Marx dominated this conference and outlined its principles. After various vicissitudes this International practically perished in 1872 or 1873. However, as general secretary of the International, Marx suggested its transfer to New York City. This was done and the International lived on a while, but finally in 1876 went entirely out of existence.

After the demise of the First International many strong socialist parties sprang up in various European countries and these groups came together in a loose federation in the late 1880's. Separate congresses held by reformist and revolutionary socialists were held in Paris in 1889. At the Brussels congress, two years later, these two sections united. From that time on congresses were held up to the outbreak of the World War in 1914. This war divided the Second International into pro-war and anti-war groups and hopelessly disrupted it for nearly five years. It

was reconstructed by the moderate elements among British and continental socialists at Berne, Switzerland, in 1919. In March of the same year the left wing, or radical groups of the socialist labor movement, met at Moscow under the leadership of the Russian Communist Party and organized the so-called Third International. Thus there are two Internationals existing at present. To the second belong the socialist groups of the various countries and to the third the communist groups of the world look for guidance and leadership. To understand what is going on in the world today some knowledge of what these internationals are is of vital importance. But though they differ in their program and in their adherents it is important to remember that both are the outcome of the philosophy and teaching of Karl Marx.

To understand that teaching in all its details it is necessary to apply one's mind with perseverance and vigor. It is not easy. However, the main lines of it are easily sketched. Marxian philosophy is based on three main doctrines. The first of these is called economic determinism. By this Marx meant, to use his own words, that "the material productive forces and no other factors, make up the objective conditions which give rise to the various forms of social life." By this Marx meant that the economic factor is the determining

element in social revolution, that the way man's material needs are met, the way he gets his bread and butter, supplies the basis on which all else is erected. This means that as our methods of production change, our laws will change, our art will change, our religion will change. This viewpoint, says Marx, will give us the clue to all history, to the past and future development of human society.

Possibly one illustration of the Marxian approach may be given in the case of slavery in our own United States. In the early days of our country slavery was not confined to the south. There were slaves also in the north. At that time there were those in the south who denounced the practice and there were plenty in the north who upheld it. However, the coming of the cotton gin made cotton growing a profitable enterprise in the south. Slave labor was well adapted to this. On the other hand, the extension of the factory system and the use of the water power of the north was profitable only on the wage worker basis. Negro slaves were not well fitted for it. The result was that slave sentiment steadily increased in the south and anti-slave sentiment increased in the north. It was not that either group was consciously hypocritical, but their economic interest moulded (inevitably moulded the economic determinist would say) their views about slavery. Thus, the Marxian, believing in economic deter-

minism, would interpret the civil war as in reality a struggle between two methods of production.

It would be easy to give many other illustrations but let this suffice. The point is clear, Marx taught that how men get their living determines all else or at least nearly all else. This is the doctrine of economic determinism which in the years ahead will become increasingly well known to the citizenry of our land.

The second great Marxian doctrine is the labor theory of value and surplus value. Marx took over his theory of value from the writings of the English and French economists who preceded him. This basic economic doctrine says that the value of a commodity, that is the quantity of any other commodity for which it will exchange, depends on the relative quantity of labor necessary for its production. This means then, in the words of Marx, that "the relative values of commodities are determined by the respective quantities or amounts of labor, worked up, realized, fixed in them." Now by quantity of labor Marx makes clear that he means "the quantity of labor necessary for its production in a given state of society under certain social average conditions of production with a given social average intensity and average skill of the labor employed." But, says Marx, labor power like every other com-

modity has itself a value determined in the same way, that is by the quantity of labor necessary to produce it. From this the consequence follows that the capitalist in employing the laborer need pay him only the actual value, thus defined, of the labor. But in buying the use of the laboring power of the laborer the capitalist has bought the right to use that labor the same as any other commodity. He can, in other words, make that laboring power work within certain limits much longer than the bare replacement of the amount he gives the worker. If, for instance, six hours labor be necessary to replace the wages, the worker is quite likely to be called upon to work several more hours, possibly eight, ten or twelve. These extra hours of labor will naturally result in extra production. This extra value thus added, Marx terms surplus value. It is out of this surplus value that the profit comes to the capitalist. He has to divide this surplus value with the landlord under the name of rent and with the money lender under the name of interest, but all of these shares have their source in the surplus value created by the laborer. They are filched from him. Thus Marx maintains that the whole capitalist system is at bottom a device for the robbing of the workers of a large share of what they produce. And he says that the workers should not raise the cry of a fair day's wages for a fair day's work but

rather the revolutionary watchword, "The abolition of the wage system."

In addition to the doctrine of surplus value and economic determinism Karl Marx proclaimed another basic idea. It was this that all human history, since the break up of primitive tribal society when land was held in common ownership, has been a history of class struggles, that is, contests between the ruling and the oppressed classes, between the exploiters and the exploited. Marx taught that a stage in human evolution has now been reached in which the struggle is between the workers who do not possess and the possessers who do not work. Moreover, he maintained that this struggle of what he termed the proletariat against the bourgeoisie differed from all previous class struggles in that the proletariat cannot attain its emancipation without, at the same time and once for all, freeing society as a whole from all exploitation, oppression, class distinction and class struggles. This will be the final battle of humanity with victory assured to the workers. Marx taught that this would be a desperate struggle but there was no doubt of the outcome. In this final class struggle, as Marx envisions it, there will be a period when the workers will have to be ruthless. They will have to exclude all the nonproducers from any share in the government; they will have to deny freedom of speech, of press and

assembly, in fact, all the ordinary civil rights assumed in a democracy. This stage is called the dictatorship of the proletariat. While one might wish that the class struggle might be fought out in the field of reason and discussion, Marx does not expect that it will be. A revolution will be necessary and a violent one at that. This briefly is the Marxian dogma of the class struggle.

To understand more clearly the Marxian system, we must not neglect the attitude of Marx toward religion. His words, "Religion is the opiate of the people," have been published from one end of the world to the other. He wrote also, "The abolition of religion is a necessary condition for the true happiness of the people." And again he asserted that, "The idea of God is the keystone of a perverted civilization. It must be destroyed. The true root of liberty, equality, culture, is atheism." Marx believed that the church was always on the side of the possessing classes against the masses. But even deeper than that he was convinced that religion in itself was against the interests of the workers, in that it gave them a way of escape into an unreal world, so that they did not feel the injustice of the real world. He rejected the whole religious set-up, the idea of God, the idea of a future life and the ethic of love. Marx declared war upon religion.

If, with these basic Marxian principles and atti-

tudes in mind, we turn to our American economic radicalism we find it more easily understood. Most of the so-called radical groups in the United States base their activities and program on the teaching of Marx. To them "Das Kapital" is an inspired book. To prove that a policy is Marxian is to decide in its favor. Constantly one hears the phrase, "Marx said" and "Marx taught." Most of our social radicals damn their opponents by hurling the charge that they are un-Marxian, that they fail to understand the master or are false to him. Moreover, in nearly every open forum of the country and from most of the soap boxes one hears the same slogans and shibboleths. "Economic determinism," "Surplus Value," "the Class Struggle," the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat," "Religion, the opiate of the people," and the others. The line of argument is always the same. Once it is begun it is easy to predict the conclusion and most of the actual words used to arrive at it.

But in saying that the social radicals in our own land base their attack upon present-day institutions, on the philosophy and even phraseology of Karl Marx, it must never be forgotten that American economic radicalism is by no means a unit. Just as the Christians appeal to the same Bible and yet differ widely in their interpretations

of it, so our economic radicals base their programs upon the writings of Marx but quarrel violently about the meaning of them. There are at least a half dozen of these radical groups all warring upon the capitalistic economic system but warring just as violently and at times more violently upon each other. Just a brief word about them.

There is first of all the Socialist Labor Party which, organized in 1877 as the Workingmen's Party of America, was from that time on until the dawn of the present century the leading socialist organization in America. In 1898 this party declared war on the American Federation of Labor and this clash caused a deep schism. Out of this break the present well-known Socialist Labor Party was formed in 1901. Since this division the Socialist Labor Party has steadily declined, and in the presidential election of 1932 polled only 20,000 votes. In its program for achieving justice for the workers it has adhered strongly to the philosophy of industrial unionism, that is to say, it has believed that the workers should be organized along the lines of the actual structure of industry rather than along the lines of particular crafts. This program is, of course, directly the opposite of that of the American Federation of Labor, which has been built on the

basis of craft organization, that is, carpenters in one union, bricklayers in another, electricians in another, and so on. The Socialist Labor Party program would be to put all the building crafts together, all the steel workers together, in fact, all the employees of any great industry quite irrespective of their line of work.

The well-known Socialist Party which, in 1932, polled nearly a million votes for its presidential candidate, Norman Thomas, is much less doctrinaire and theoretical in its approach to the American scene. It is looked upon as traitorous by the Socialist Labor Party. It is accused of being in reality a capitalist party which is deceiving the working class. It has followed a much more opportunistic policy, for in 1924 it endorsed La Follette in his campaign for the presidency. Its great leader was Eugene V. Debs, and it has managed to attract real labor support as well as many of the middle-class intellectuals. Both the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Party are Marxian, but the latter is much more critical in its acceptance of Marxian dogmas. It is seeking the overthrow of the capitalist system in the United States by constitutional methods and by tactics which it believes will appeal to the American voter. It has secured the support of some of the American Federation of Labor unions, but in the main the Federation has adhered to its policy of

rewarding its friends and punishing its enemies. Generally speaking, the Federation has endorsed the Democratic candidates.

The third group most often heard from and about is the Communist Group. There is an American Communist Party known as the Workers Party. This party is affiliated with the Third International and is under the control of the Russian Communist Party. This means that the struggles within the Russian Communist Party have their reflex in the American party. When Stalin finally overthrew and exiled Trotsky, the American party also excommunicated the American Trotskyites. Moreover, it pursued these heretics with the utmost vindictiveness, raided their meetings and assaulted their leaders. In fact, one of the most difficult battles that some of our American liberals had was to secure freedom of discussion for these Trotskyites who were hounded by their erstwhile comrades. The American Communist is quite ready to avail himself of every law for the protection of freedom of expression in this country, but he will tell you frankly that he has no intention of giving any like freedom to capitalists or those whom he considers "Traitors to the working class." As one Communist blandly put it to the Civil Liberties Union: "You believe in freedom of speech and hence you ought to protect us when we exercise it. We don't

believe in it so we will break up whatever meetings we choose."

In addition to the division in the American Communist ranks between the orthodox members and the Trotskyites there is also a further schism. About three years ago there was a strong element in the party which believed that American capitalism was different from European capitalism, that here it was more firmly entrenched and would require different methods to uproot it. They were guilty of what their foes called the heresy of exceptionalism. And for this failure to take what the Communists call "The right line" they have had to suffer grievously. They have been expelled from the party. They have had their meetings attacked and broken up. They have been assaulted with force and violence. However, they have gone on striving to convince their former comrades that they are right. Like the regular party and the Trotsky followers they too have had their propagandist newspapers and their educational centres.

Even the above three groups do not exhaust the divisions in the Communist movement in this country. There is a little group of a few hundred called the Proletarian Party, who have never had official connection with the orthodox movement. They, too, believe that Communism must be more skillfully adapted to the American temperament.

They, too, are Marxians. They also have carried on their lectures and other propaganda work. Moreover there is still another small band made up of the followers of Albert Weisbord, one of the best-known leaders in some of the New Jersey textile strikes. It would be doubtless possible to discover still other divisions among the Communists, but these suffice to make clear the point that there is a division and sharp antagonism resulting from the varied interpretations of the Master, Karl Marx. Of course, there is clash of personalities also, but most of the division really rests upon theoretical grounds, but theoretical grounds maintained so passionately as to carry over into the realm of actual personal hatred. Yet putting all these groups together under the rough label of Communist the number of convinced Communist party members and active sympathizers, the sum total would be in the tens of thousands only, one hundred thousand would be a most generous estimate.

In addition to the Socialist and Communist groups two other kinds of American radicals ought briefly to be mentioned. The first of these is the so-called I. W. W., which letters stand for "Industrial Workers of the World." The I. W. W. was organized in Chicago in 1905 as a merger of various labor groups that had long been hostile to the American Federation of Labor.

It conceived of its duty as the organization of the unskilled workers. It worked especially in the great agricultural west and in the lumber woods and the mining camps. It, too, seeks to abolish capitalism and its members are mostly the migratory workers. At one time the organization had possibly 150,000 members, but since the fierce campaign waged against it by the government during the war its numbers have been vastly reduced and its influence is slight. It opposes the Communist Party, and the Communist Party has nothing but scorn and hatred for it.

The second group about which a word should be said are the Anarchists. There are many kinds. Some would believe in violence as a method of securing social change. Some, however, would not. Among the noted American leaders were Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman. The Anarchists vary in their economic philosophy, some are Marxian and some are not. However, they believe that all government is wrong in so far as it uses compulsion, and their ideal is that each should do what is right in his own eyes. They have been cruelly persecuted in Russia as well as in the capitalist countries. They are hated by the American Communists, for the Anarchists are among the most astute foes that Communism has to meet. The Anarchist, generally speaking, is a man of great intellectual power, tremendous

moral courage and a passionate devotion to what he conceives to be the best interests of the human race and particularly the oppressed parts of it.

Possibly one final word might be said by way of caution. So often in conversation and very frequently in print we find, "Communists, Socialists, Pacifists, Anarchists," all grouped together with the suggestion that their teachings and views are practically the same. Such sentiment proceeds from sheer ignorance. The most bitter invective, the most slimy epithets are hurled by the Communists against the Socialists. To the Communists the Socialists are worse than the capitalists, because they believe they are deceiving the working class. The attempt is constantly made to break up Socialist meetings. Naturally, too, the Socialists do not feel very kindly toward the Communists. Moreover, they point out that their tactics play right into the hands of the reactionaries.

The Anarchists say "a plague o' both your houses," for the Anarchist believes that what humanity needs is less government, while the Socialists and Communists are both seeking to give us more with still greater compulsion exercised against the individual. And when one talks of Pacifists it is well to remember that a Pacifist may be either a Republican, a Democrat or a Socialist in his political beliefs. He can scarcely be an absolute Pacifist and a Communist, for the Commu-

nist maintains that pacifism is reactionary and that the preaching of non-violence of the kind of Gandhi simply results in taking away the fighting edge of the working class. The Communists are bitter in their denunciations of pacifism, just as bitter, in fact, as the one hundred per cent militarists.

American radicalism, then, is divided into many parties with divisions within those parties. It is a unit only in being against the present economic system. This it would seek to destroy and yet, even with this basic belief in common, there is so much disagreement about methods and tactics and even some principles that there is no unity in the American economic radical movement. Most of it runs back to Karl Marx and appeals to his name and teachings. Furthermore, it is fair to say that no one can understand what American economic radicalism is or what it is trying to do without understanding something of Marx and his basic theories of economic determinism, surplus value and the class struggle. Without some knowledge of Marxism even the terminology, the very words used by our radicals, are unintelligible. With this knowledge it is easy to understand the hostility of many economic radicals to the church and to religion. They are simply following Marx. And let our churches not deceive themselves. A powerful force, probably the most powerful force in

our present world, is being pitted against them and the attitude toward life for which they stand. That force is surely forcing our Christian churches to make answer as to where they stand in what our radical friends call, "The Class Struggle." And that answer must not be long delayed.

CHAPTER IX

THE DUTY OF THE CHURCH IN THE INDUSTRIAL CRISIS

WITH 11,000,000 to 15,000,000 unemployed in the United States of America and millions more dependent upon charity and with the fear of economic disaster haunting the lives of the rest of our people, no sane man can now question that we are facing a crisis of the first order. We are headed for a catastrophe of unprecedented magnitude. With over half of our population members of our churches it is of importance to ask what the church can do in the emergency upon us. What is the responsibility of organized religion? Of course, there are those who say that it has no responsibility whatever, but we have previously pointed out how necessary it is for living religion to deal with this greatest of all issues now facing our world. Any religion worthy of claiming such mighty religious teachers as Amos, Isaiah and Jesus cannot keep silent in a time like this. Surely our churches are of little value if they have no message for this day of crisis. What is that message? What is the duty

of the church as society grapples with its baffling industrial problem? Let us try to set it forth.

Two thousand years ago Rome held the then known world in bondage. The Jewish people were caught in that tyranny. They groaned and writhed under the heel of the oppressor. One of those fearless prophets who so often adorned the pages of their history came with a flaming message. His day, too, was a day of crisis. Destruction threatened the nation. That prophet's name was John and this is what he said: "O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come? . . . And now also the axe is laid unto the root of the trees; every tree therefore which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire." Faced with the prospect of the passing of all that they had known and cherished, the multitude cried out, "What shall we do then?" To this John replied: "He that hath two coats let him impart to him that hath none; and he that hath meat, let him do likewise." In other words and translated into our language today, John said "Charity." This answer is being made today. Through community drives and Gibson committees and other organizations we are striving to feed the hungry and clothe the naked. The churches are coöperating in these measures and rightly so, but not for one minute can we main-

tain that charity is the only answer which the churches should make to the crisis.

Let us read further about this prophet John. "There came also publicans to be baptized and said unto him, Master what shall we do? And he said unto them, Exact no more than that which is appointed you." Now we must remember that these publicans were the tax gatherers of the day. They were officials and like some officials today they made a rake-off on the side. If the Roman government levied ten they would pass it on to the people as eleven and twelve. This preacher of social righteousness, John the Baptist, was simply saying in our modern speech, "Don't graft." Our churches today need this message, too. They need to say to our office holders, to the governments at Washington and in the states and especially in our cities, "Don't graft." They need to do what two preachers, John Haynes Holmes and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, did in New York when they attacked the graft and corruption of the Walker régime. The churches need to declare for honesty and integrity in our governments and they need to do it day in and day out. Not that this is all they need to do but at least they should do that.

Moreover, as we read on in that story of John we learn that the soldiers also came to him saying, "And what shall we do?" And he said unto them, "Do violence to no man, neither accuse

falsely; and be content with your wages." If we clothe that in modern dress, John was crying out against militarism and war. Our churches today need to do just that, for it is war with its expenditures of $10,000,000 per hour that is at least partially responsible for our present plight and our inability to pull ourselves out of it. Our churches are testifying against war as they never have before and they cannot do too much of it.

However, as a matter of historical fact, John did not found our Christian churches. His message of charity, his denunciation of graft in high places, and his attack upon the spirit of militarism are sorely needed. At a matter of fact, they are becoming increasingly a part of the program of our churches. But it would be folly to contend that this message of John goes far enough or deep enough to satisfy the need of today. Of course, the churches must utter that message and do all they can to supply the needy with the necessaries of life. Of course they must denounce our grafting officials and fight in season and out of season against the piling up of armaments. But when these things are done they are still far short of the duty laid upon them by their founder. That founder was Jesus and he, too, faced that same terrible crisis of which John had spoken. When the people crowded round him asking what they must do he turned to them and said, "When you

see a cloud rise out of the west, straightway you say, there cometh a shower; and so it is. And when you see the south wind blow you say, There will be heat and it cometh to pass. You hypocrites, you can discern the face of the sky and of the earth; but how is it that you do not understand this time?"

In those words there is made clear to us one of the first and most important duties of the church in the present crisis. One of the greatest contributions which our churches can make to the solving of the present industrial problem is to help people to understand it. During the past hundred years there has occurred the greatest revolution in all human history. We have passed through a greater change than in all the previous 7,000 years of social history. We have changed in just a few decades from a civilization based upon animal and human power to one based upon mechanical power. One of our great turbines at Niagara Falls can furnish as much power as was possible to all the population of ancient Egypt. The change has come upon us so quickly that we are still bewildered and baffled by it. The churches through addresses and classes and literature could make the underlying facts of this tremendous shift in the basis of civilization clear to the American people. They could help them to understand what this machine set-up really means.

Moreover, the churches could make clear also the class basis of our present society. They could point out that social classes which seem so natural and inevitable to us are really not natural or inevitable at all, but are the terrible inheritance of chattel slavery. It would be perfectly possible for our churches to make clear the faulty distribution of those marvellous riches which the machine technique has made possible. They could set forth the facts about child labor and unemployment and the other ills which rob human beings of so much of their happiness. By thus setting forth the revolution which has come in human life due to the rise of the machine technique and by making the people conscious of the class nature of our present society they would fulfill the command of Jesus to understand this time. This is an immediate and imperative duty of the church.

The second duty of the church in the industrial crisis has already been implied. In saying that the church should strive to make real the message of John the Baptist and should help the people to understand the historical epoch into which we have come we are naturally suggesting that the church must give real place for destructive criticism. There is a school of thought and there are many individuals who are constantly criticizing those who attack present evils because they

are not "Constructive." There is merit in this criticism but it must also be remembered that there is need of hammering at the evils we face even though nothing is suggested as a substitute for them. To be specific the church must be very sensitive in regard to child labor and must tirelessly point out the harm it is doing not only to the children but to our whole American life. To do this it is in no sense necessary for the church to attempt to point out a specific remedy for this evil. If we are always to wait for remedies the evils would never be removed. In the same way it is quite proper for the church to denounce the unspeakable conditions in some of our mining fields even though no remedy is suggested. Also in dealing with the corruption in some of our cities intolerable conditions may well be exposed and pilloried even though nothing is said about the commission form of government or any other panacea. Our preachers like the prophets of old must measure contemporary society by the plumb line of righteousness and must fearlessly proclaim their findings. The second great duty of the church as it faces the industrial crisis is to denounce wrong and crookedness wherever corruption is found.

A third duty resting upon our religious organizations today as we face our terrific economic problem is to state what are the proper and

worthwhile aims in this realm. Right at this point we find a real and important difference between science and religion. Science deals with the how of things. It gives us the method for getting what we want. Man has wanted to travel and travel quickly. Science has created the train and the steamboat and the automobile. Man has wanted to fly. Science has invented the aëroplane, and the dirigible. Man has wanted to conquer disease. Science is at work and with some success upon that tremendous task. You may say to the scientist show me how to get what I want. To that question he is responsive. He is not responsive to the question as to what you ought to want. That he maintains, and quite properly, is not his task. Right here is one of the great tasks of religion—to point out the worthwhile ends of life. Particularly is there a great task laid upon the Church in this respect as it faces the economic problem. That task is the clear and cogent statement of the worthwhile aims. We may and indeed must say to our engineers and our economists, show us how to build a society so as to get what we want, but it is the task of religion to lay bare the goals to be striven for. Briefly let us note some of those goals which we have a right to demand of any economic system whether we call it capitalism, communism, socialism, or whatnot.

The first goal that the churches must con-

stantly keep before us is the basic one of the necessaries and comforts of life for all. The first requisite of any economic system is to produce the goods and services necessary to maintain life in health and decency. No matter what else an industrial order may do or not do it will not satisfy and it cannot satisfy unless it can feed and clothe the people. And now that we have the marvellously productive and efficient machine technique this means good food and clothing and all that goes to make up an abundant life for all the people. Our churches must never permit us to be satisfied with less. This must be our first aim.

The second desirable goal to be kept constantly before us is security. Anyone who has had any experience with our industrial workers knows how large this desire looms in their minds. In fact it looms large in the minds of all of us. A man wants not merely enough for today; he wants some assurance that there is going to be enough for tomorrow. He wants to know that if he does his part he will be taken care of in his old age; he wants to know that he will be looked after if sickness comes; he wants a guarantee that he is not going to be thrown out of his job with no resources to fall back upon. It is an indictment of our present-day society that with all our amazing productive capacity men and women are not able

to lay aside enough to provide for their declining years. A worthy economic system must provide not only enough of the necessaries of life for the worker when he is working but it must also relieve him of anxiety about the future. This is a fair goal, it is a possible goal, it is a goal for the church to keep constantly before us. By it must economic proposals be tested.

In the third place the church must hold up the goal of healthful working conditions. It is quite possible to imagine an industrial system which would give the necessaries of life to all and a guarantee of those necessaries until death itself but which would nevertheless purchase those benefits at too great a cost. Today our industry in normal times has more casualties each year than our army had in France. We are purchasing much of our production at the cost of industrial accidents. Moreover there are occupational diseases which shorten the lives of the workers. And there is all the wear and tear upon the human system through the speeding-up process which so much of our industrial life demands. And there is child labor and all the other industrial menaces to health. An economic system which approaches the ideal, a system which will really satisfy must produce the goods and services of life without taxing our health. This is the third desirable goal.

In suggesting the goals thus far we have been dealing with the physical and tangible things which we can readily see and understand. But man does not live by bread alone and he will always demand more than economic satisfactions of his economic system. An economic system which does not make possible the realization of these other deeper needs will in the long run prove unsatisfactory. One of these needs which lies deep down in the nature of all of us is the need for liberty. No economic system can long be satisfactory which does not make possible considerable liberty to the individual. Men and women will want some liberty as to what they shall do in the economic order and how they shall do it. This obviously cannot be given fully and completely but this instinct for liberty must somehow be met. Moreover there will be a desire for some freedom as to the use of the leisure time which our machine technique can give us. Men will never be happy to have some man or some group of men or even society as a whole tell them precisely what they must do in all parts of life. An economic system which will satisfy our deepest instincts must give the maximum possible of liberty to the individual. There must be some power of choice as to what occupation we shall follow and at least some power of decision within that occupation. We must preserve some power of de-

cision over our own lives. The church will do well to keep this aim constantly before us.

Again the church will do well to keep before us the old ideal of equality. No economic system will really satisfy our people as a whole unless it gives something like substantial equality in the work done and in the material reward received. A man's happiness does not depend so much on what he actually has as on what he has in comparison with someone else. The fact that 1% of our people own 59% of the wealth of the country and that a large share of the income also goes to a comparatively small number of our people will always produce trouble. An economic system which departs very far from the ideal of equality stands in unstable equilibrium. It is headed for disaster. Moreover when our technological advance makes it possible for us, if society really wished it, to give each family an income ten times as great as it received in 1929, there is little excuse for inequality. If we give each man enough and more than enough the old reasons for inequitable division are no longer valid. The times demand that our churches hold up this ideal contained in those words of Jesus, "All ye are brethren."

A third intangible goal is the goal of fellowship. Religion must insist on this for real fellowship is of the very essence of religion. The great

trouble today is that our economic inequality so denies brotherhood, makes it so impossible for men to meet on the level that fellowship is mocked. What men have looms much larger than what they are. It is hard for the poor man to have genuine fellowship with the rich man. More than this: how impossible it is for one income receiving group to have real fellowship with a larger income group for these incomes themselves tend to divide us into classes. They set up barriers to fellowship. The rich man's vote is bound to count more in practically all the relationships of life. The poor man is almost bound to feel inferior and the rich man to develop a superiority complex. Our race is made of such stuff that it can never be happy until there is genuine fellowship. It is even as William Morris makes John Ball, the mad priest of Kent, to say:

> "Forsooth brothers, fellowship is heaven and lack of fellowship is hell; fellowship is life, and lack of fellowship is death; and the deeds that ye do upon the earth it is for fellowship's sake that ye do them."

The church must hold up this goal which in a sense includes all else.

The necessaries of life, security for the future, healthful working conditions, liberty, equality and fellowship are among the worthwhile goals of our economic striving. It is one of the great duties of

the church at this present juncture, in this world crisis, to help men to see these goals clearly that seeing them clearly they may have the drive to secure them. Once the American people have these aims crystal clear they will demand their realization and practice. And for the first time in the history of man we have the knowledge and the power to bring them down from the clouds and actualize them in the everyday world.

And there rests a fourth duty upon the church in this time of industrial crisis. That duty may be properly described as the duty of supplying a technique of social change which will not be as costly as violence. Today there is danger that certain groups will be so hostile to social change that they will strive to hold their special privileges by sheer physical force. There is danger that the answer to this will be other physical force. Out of that conflict there is the imminent possibility that our finely adjusted technological efficiency will be hopelessly lost and mass starvation result. The social changes so necessary can be brought about by moral force if we exert it intelligently. The non-violent non-coöperation movement in India is suggestive of the manner in which determined moral force may be exerted.

But if any better way out than the old, old way of violent overthrow with attendant reaction is to be found, our means of communication must be

kept open. That means that our churches today must throw their influence on the side of those who are demanding the realization of the old American ideal of freedom of speech and press. In the fight for these civil liberties our churches should be at the front. It is good to know that recently they have been, notably in the struggles in the coal fields and against some of our public utilities. The channels of communication must be kept clear where protest may be voiced. The only alternative to that will be violence. The churches with their reliance upon moral force have a special duty here in making clear that the only social victory worth while is the one achieved by methods consistent with the aim sought. In the words of Alexander Berkman:

> "You cannot serve the truth by lies. If you build on such a foundation you are doomed to disillusionment and defeat. The Jesuitic idea that the end justifies the means is the most heinous and fatal thought ever conceived by the degenerate mind of man. The truth is that there is no spiritual difference between the means used and the end sought. The means gradually and inevitably become the end. Employ tyranny to secure liberty and you will achieve worse despotism than the one you meant to abolish."

So the duty assuredly devolves upon the church in this industrial crisis of showing a better way than the old, old way of force, the way of Cæsar and Alexander, of Tamerlane and Napoleon.

And to secure that better way it will need to throw all its influence upon the side of those who would preserve the historic American liberties of speech and press.

A fifth duty is upon the church in the industrial crisis. It is the duty of creating the will to find a way out. Men can resolve these mighty conflicts if they honestly have a will to do so. If hatred and suspicion can be made to give way to good will and understanding, a settlement can be found. It is the church's duty to create the atmosphere of good will by showing men the folly of race and class and national prejudice. It is its duty to show men that they belong to one great human family. One of the great words of the New Testament is reconciliation. In fact the Christian gospel is well summed up in the words, "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, and he hath given unto us the ministry of reconciliation." It is not the task of the church to lay down the blue print of what the new society is to be but it is its task to create the atmosphere in which alone that new society can be achieved.

Finally there is a sixth duty upon the church as it faces the deepening economic night. That duty is the age-old duty of making the individual more socially minded. It is the duty of showing each of us how to drive out the lust for possessions and the lust for power which today stand like

demons in the path of a social order based on justice and kindness. Unless those demons can be driven out it is probably impossible to find any economic system which will prevent one man from tyrannizing over another. But the church can approach that task today with some degree of confidence for it has the experience of the centuries and the science of today which alike proclaim that no individual can achieve the deep satisfaction for which he longs unless he directs his life away from self. The church can proclaim that this lust for possession and the lust for power can be sublimated and used for the good of the race rather than for the unhealthy development of the individual. The church can show men that it is only as they live for others that they are truly sane. The church can help men to understand that it is only as man loses his life that he can find it.

Has the church a duty in the industrial crisis? Assuredly yes. It has a responsibility which it can neither deny nor evade. But it does not have the responsibility as some would suggest of laying down concrete economic programs. That is the task of the engineers, of our economists and other social scientists. It is the task of the church to proclaim righteousness. It is its task to get the facts of the crisis before the people so that they may know what it is they face. It is its task to

hold up the proper and worthwhile goals so that always we may be driving toward them and testing our achievements by them. It is its task to find a better technique of social change than the barbaric methods of force and violence. It is its task to keep open that freedom of discussion which will enable us to solve our problems by reason rather than by physical might. Above all it is its task to remake individual men and women who will become so on fire with zeal for the better world that may be that they will no longer be animated by the lust for money or the lust for power. It is its task to keep before men the vision of the city of God into which there shall "in no wise enter in anything that defileth, neither worketh abomination or maketh a lie."

And it can keep at this task day after day and year after year because it believes in a God whose very nature is such as to guarantee the ultimate coming of his Kingdom. Its faith in this God must always save it from that cynicism which so curses the "tired radical."

CHAPTER X

WHAT ONE CHURCH IS DOING— LABOR TEMPLE

It is a satisfaction to record that even twenty-five years ago there were leaders in our Protestant churches who foresaw that the churches could not stand aloof from the economic problem. Rauschenbusch and others had been proclaiming social righteousness and there was a growing group of thoughtful Christians who were convinced that Jesus' message could and must be applied to business and industry. Among this group was a young man named Charles Stelzle, who was a lecturer and secretary for the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions. Dr. Stelzle, born on the lower East Side of New York City, had been a machinist before entering the ministry and as a member of the Machinists' Union he was thoroughly familiar with the problems facing the industrial workers in the machine civilization which was so rapidly arising. Dr. Stelzle felt that there was a pitiful lack of understanding between the industrial workers and the churches. The in-

dustrial workers were coming to feel that the churches were for the upper classes and in time of industrial dispute would be found siding with the employers. The churches on the other hand were not interesting themselves in the industrial workers and their problems. There was a growing estrangement that boded ill for the best interests of both.

Burdened with this "Concern" for a proper relationship between Labor and the Church Dr. Stelzle persuaded the Board of which he was an employee to purchase the 14th Street Presbyterian Church at the corner of 14th Street and Second Avenue, New York City. Due to the influx of European immigrants this church had seen its congregation dwindle to the vanishing point and to meet the crisis had united with a church on the West Side. The officers of the church were glad to sell their building, so in 1910 Dr. Stelzle started in with his program. He was greatly encouraged and helped in this program by three ministers of vision and power, Dr. William Adams Brown, Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin and Dr. William P. Merrill. These men were of the greatest help in meeting the deluge of criticism that overwhelmed Dr. Stelzle. That criticism came from many sides. There were those who resented this new enterprise as being merely one more church in an already overchurched neigh-

borhood. There were those too who feared that this was an attempt to get socialism or some other kind of radicalism into the church. There were those among the Jews who felt that this was a new proselyting scheme on the part of the Christians. So much criticism was raised that it was necessary to get Theodore Roosevelt to appear at the old church and give Dr. Stelzle his blessing. There were many months of acrimonious discussion about the whole enterprise and every conceivable attack was made even to the extent of a suit by the city for taxes on the ground that the unconventional activities carried on were not sufficiently religious to merit tax exemption. But Labor Temple (the name Dr. Stelzle had chosen as symbolizing the fusion of Labor and Church for which he was pleading) was born and lived. Dr. Stelzle resigned after two years of service but the enterprise was well launched and other men have carried it on. In fact it has become so much a part of the established life of the city that on its 20th birthday both the New York *Times* and the *World* offered editorial congratulations. And the official report of the League of Nations International Labor Conference took notice of it in these words: "This Labor Temple, as it is called, by ensuring the frank discussion of all problems and the free expression of all points of view, and by keeping in close touch with the

workers while respecting their complete independence (several trade unions have their offices in the premises of the institution) is carrying out a work of conciliation and of reconciliation." Labor Temple has given proof that contacts can be made by the church with both organized and unorganized industrial workers. It has blazed a trail which may well be followed by other Christian churches. It may be helpful to record just what has been done.

From the very first Labor Temple has recognized, what is now almost universally admitted, that social change is desirable and inevitable. Christian principles demand that we strive to base our lives on good will and service rather than on hatred and greed. The march of events set in motion by the revolutionary shift from human and animal muscle to high power machinery is rapidly forcing economic change. These social and economic changes may come by violence and bloodshed. It is possible to bring them about by more peaceful methods. These peaceful methods are obviously more in harmony with the spirit and teachings of the Man of Nazareth. But peaceful methods imply the changing of men's ideas. These peaceful methods imply discussion of the basic issues in our present-day human society. With this Christian philosophy at the heart of its program Labor Temple has from its very beginning

made the maximum use of open forums. At these forums every kind of human question has been discussed. Religion has been debated in these meetings from every conceivable angle. Political beliefs of every brand and variety have been advocated. Every social theory and all the variations of it have been espoused with power and passion. There has been freedom of discussion subject only to the limitations actually enforced by the laws of the land. Conservatives, liberals, radicals and those to whom no label will apply have all had their chance.

And what has been the effect? First of all Labor Temple Forum has become well known as a place where speech is really free and untrammeled. Even during the days of the war and the hysteria which followed it Labor Temple was known as a place where one could say what was honestly in his heart to say. Those holding minority opinions knew that those opinions could be expressed at Labor Temple. And Labor Temple was a church. At least a slight dent was made in the prejudice against the church. Again, contrary to what is sometimes asserted, men do change their minds in forums. They were taught to listen to the voice of reason rather than mere ignorant assumption. They grew generally speaking a little less cocksure of the infallibility of their own opinions and a bit more tolerant of the opin-

ions of others. And finally from the standpoint of those in charge of the Labor Temple experiment there was the definite result that an audience was secured for their own message. By giving the other fellow every opportunity to have his say there was secured the effective right for Labor Temple's spokesmen to be fairly heard. The forums made vital and living contacts for Labor Temple. It put the church in gear with great masses of workers, the men and women it was seeking to reach.

While Labor Temple began its work with a forum it rapidly expanded its program. Indeed it showed the real genius of the Christian church which is to do whatever needs to be done. It is perfectly true that the primary business of the church is to preach the gospel, nevertheless men and women cannot have a very clear picture of what that gospel is merely by the preaching of it. There must come concrete demonstrations of what it means in actual everyday living. Because Labor Temple was proclaiming good will and brotherhood it had to give a demonstration of just what it meant. There were many ways in which to do this. There were homes in which there was want and trouble. There were boys and girls who had no place to play except in the city streets with all the physical and moral hazards attached to such play. There were men

and women seeking for the self-expression denied them in the hard round of their daily toil. Labor Temple began to meet these needs. A playground was established with proper supervision. A gymnasium was secured where the bodies of the youngsters could have a chance to develop. A clinic was organized where the children could be examined and their physical defects reported to their parents. Clubs and craft classes were founded. Friendly visits were made to the homes and comfort and cheer and sometimes economic help was given. Jobs were secured for those out of work. A health centre and a marriage consultation center were pioneering ventures where the attempt was made to be of all possible service to the men and women of the community. In fact Labor Temple did not hesitate to do anything which promised to be of service to men and women on the ground that it hadn't ever been done. When unemployment was causing acute distress and hundreds had no shelter it opened up its church auditorium and let the unemployed sleep in it. In fact in that period it achieved the distinction of being open and having activities in progress twenty-four hours a day seven days a week. With all these multitudinous activities Labor Temple from one point of view became a neighborhood house and took its place among the progressive settlements of the city.

But forums and settlement work by no means exhausted the program. Very early in the history of the institution Dr. Will Durant, now well known as the author of "The Story of Philosophy" and other books, began his lecturing career at Labor Temple. With his flair for popular statement of worthwhile themes he attracted large numbers to his lectures on philosophy and literature. The administration at Labor Temple discovered the hunger that there was in the minds of countless thousands of industrial workers for the intellectual food denied them in their childhood and increasing efforts were made to meet their needs. As a result the Labor Temple School was founded and courses were offered to all who cared to come. While the adult education movement has now happily made a deep impression upon our land at that time it was something new for courses of such power and worth to be offered to the masses. It is a great joy to record the fact that this movement is not a fad for it has now been scientifically demonstrated that a man of 45 can learn just about as well as his boy of 15. There isn't any reason as far as capacity goes why a man or woman deprived of an education in their youth should not get it in their maturity. This gospel has come as a magnificent vision to thousands of industrial workers.

In this whole field Labor Temple has tried to

do three things. It has tried first of all to help men and women understand the life and society of today. To do this it has been necessary to give courses in history, anthropology, biology, economics and all those subjects which help us to see why men are living as they are today. The attempt has been made to give the background of the problems which now perplex us, to provide accurate data in the light of which we can consider the issues of modern civilization. Second, there has been the attempt to teach men to think clearly. For this purpose there have been courses in philosophy, logic and psychology and critical discussion groups. Third, there have been several courses offered each year which have scarcely any utilitarian value. They have been given just to make life more pleasant and more enjoyable. Courses in the appreciation of music and courses in literature are examples of what is meant. In this connection it is interesting to note that the most popular courses year in and year out are those which deal with philosophy and literature. There is for instance, an interest in the ultimate problems of philosophy that is deeper and more lasting than the interest even in economics which so concerns the life of the workers in modern industry. Moreover it is not wise to underestimate the appeal of worthwhile subjects to the men and women who toil, especially to those who are for-

eign-born. At Labor Temple these men and women carry "Plato," "Aristotle" and other such classics in their pockets. Indeed a debate on the subject, "Which Offers the Most for the Happiness of the Human Race, an Application of Plato's Republic or Aristotle's Relatively Best State?" drew over two hundred listeners with each of them paying twenty-five cents for the privilege. Labor Temple through its school has tried to do its share in educating the workers for the additional responsibilities that will face them as a better social order comes.

There is still another approach to the laboring man which has been found worth while. This has been in the realm of mass contacts. Not only has Labor Temple tried to reach the individual workingman, it has tried also to make every possible connection with the workers' organizations. To do this the Director has served as fraternal delegate to such labor groups as the Central Trades and Labor Council of the city. This has been helpful in showing the interest of the churches in labor and it has also been of service in interpreting some of the measures taken by labor to the various ecclesiastical bodies. For instance, it has been helpful to distribute among the churches the lists of union-made products prepared by the committees of organized labor. Again Labor Temple has offered the hospitality of its building to any

and all labor organizations who cared to avail themselves of it. This in many cases has been genuinely helpful to labor for it has provided them a meeting place under good surroundings. It has been of especial value in some of the strikes waged in the clothing trades in New York City. Labor Temple has given its hospitality in these cases and thus has permitted strikers to have decent surroundings thereby keeping up their morale. It has sometimes proved possible for members of the Labor Temple staff to be of service in some of the disputes taking place within labor organizations. Having taken no sides in the various disputes and quarrels which have wracked the Labor movement and being open to all on equal terms the Temple administration has been trusted by all factions.

Some of these factional disputes have been most bitter particularly in those fields where the workers have tried to express themselves politically. For instance, the Communists have attacked Socialists with much more vehemence than they have attacked capitalists. And within the Communist and Socialist groups themselves there are factions. As this is written there are at least five Communist groups declaring themselves the only friends of the working classes and hating each other with a hatred bordering on and often actually becoming fanaticism. Labor Tem-

ple has been friendly to all and by thus showing friendliness to unions and strikers and political radical groups it has compelled some restatement of the oft-repeated charge that the church is always on the side of the employers in their struggles against the workers. Moreover it has more than once prevented rival organizations from doing bodily violence to each other.

When Labor Temple was founded it was not expected that there would be any local church connected with it. It was the arm of the whole church stretched out in friendliness to the industrial workers. However, after five years of demonstrated fairness and service to the workers of the community there was a group of people who came together and said that if that was Christianity they would like to have more of it. As a result of this attitude and after considerable thought and discussion there was organized in 1915 the American International Church which was a duly constituted church in the Presbytery of New York. There has always been a great preponderance of foreign-born and the children of foreign-born in the local community served by Labor Temple so that it was natural that there should be preaching services in various foreign languages. During the years there have been preaching services in Italian, German, Hungarian, Ruthenian, Russian, Roumanian and some other

languages. At first these various groups were kept separate but as the years have gone on, and more and more have learned English, and the children have grown, the tendency is to have more of the meetings in English. It is inspiring on a Communion Sunday to find these people of such widely different background gathered together in the common brotherhood that is the right of Christian believers. The foreign-language pastors throughout the years have been most helpful to their congregations in teaching them English, helping them to secure citizenship papers and in many other ways showing them how to face the conditions of the new world into which they have come.

Generally speaking the foreign language services are held Sunday morning and the evening is left free for the service in English. In this Sunday night service the aim is to reach the great mass of the unchurched, the men and women who are not only indifferent but positively hostile to religion. The attempt has been to interpret religion in the language and thought of today. The men and women who come to these Sunday night meetings, and hundreds do come each Sunday night, have for the most part no church connection at all. But they are interested intellectually in the problems religion professes to answer and

they have a spiritual hunger which they will not admit to themselves. Every effort is made at these Sunday night services to deal with the actual problems faced by them. It has been found that there are three subjects which never fail to draw a crowd and to arouse interest. One of these, as one would expect, is sex. 14th Street is not peculiar in that. Another is Russia, for this has perennial appeal as so many have come from that land or are watching the Russian experiment with such hope. And the third is God. It is true that not a few come that they may refute him, but they come. As one man inadvertently expressed it in the discussion time one Sunday night: "There isn't anything to this God business. We don't need God to explain the universe. We don't need him to help us live as this speaker has been telling us. Why if we'd use just half the brains God has given us we could see that." He wondered for a moment why the crowd laughed. However much it may be denied the words of St. Augustine still ring true, "Thou hast made us for thyself." The experience at Labor Temple all goes to show that even Atheism is religious and expresses the heart hunger for God.

Thus through forums, settlement activities, lectures and discussion groups, friendly contacts with labor organizations and definitely church activities

Labor Temple has for nearly a quarter of a century been interpreting the message of the church to the industrial workers. In some respects however this has been but one side of its work. Labor groups and social radicals need to know what religion really is and by the same token church groups also are in need of understanding. Too frequently they have a distorted view of labor. Labor Temple has worked faithfully to remedy this; it has tried to get the church to know and appreciate the aims and ideals of the laboring masses and those who essay to lead them. This also has called for patience, tact and perseverance. On every possible occasion churchmen have been invited to Labor Temple activities that they might see for themselves for there is no better way. Members of the staff have accepted every invitation to speak and explain what is on the mind of the industrial worker. For many years those invitations came far too infrequently but now happily the opportunities are more than can be met. The depression has driven home to the rank and file as well as the leadership of our churches the lesson that religion must play a part in our economic life if that life is to be delivered from paganism and corruption. Thus the vision of the founders of Labor Temple has been realized, and the experimental station established in the heart of New York's East Side is helping to supply the

church with the data on the basis of which it can reshape its message to meet the new day that is dawning.

While the preceding paragraphs have probably made clear the general program of Labor Temple, two or three final considerations must be stressed. The first of these deals with the concrete ideals which have guided the development of that program. Labor Temple has tried always to be friendly no matter how great the provocation to be otherwise. There have been those who have not understood, who have tried to take advantage. It is always so but Labor Temple has believed that it was the duty of Christian folk to treat other people on the basis of kindness quite irrespective of how they returned the treatment. Those conducting the institution have thought often of the words of Jesus that the Heavenly Father sendeth the rain on the just and on the unjust. Moreover they have been careful to draw no distinctions in offering the privileges of the Settlement and all the rest between races or nationalities or religions. The facilities of the organization have been equal to all on equal terms. Jewish boys, Christian boys, white boys, black boys, Italian boys, Russian boys, English boys, they have all often been found in one club and the fact has scarcely provoked comment. Even on the staff this principle has been followed for

various nationalities, colors and religions have served on that staff working together for a world where kindness shall rule. Men and women, boys and girls, have been judged on the basis of what they themselves were rather than on the basis of the group to which they belonged. Again Labor Temple has tried consistently to be fair and friendly to organized labor. It has had its printing done in union shops and has tried to follow the same general principle of union workmanship throughout. Also it has stressed the right of every group to be heard no matter how unpopular that group might be at the moment. It has protected the right of freedom of expression whether that right was assailed from the right, the left or the centre. This has meant not only free speech in forums; it has meant also the granting of hospitality to such groups for meetings of their own and the granting of protection to them when, as is sometimes the case, they are in danger of physical violence. Moreover it must always be remembered that the ideal of the Kingdom of God proclaimed by Jesus and the Hebrew prophets has been kept uppermost in all that has been said and done. That ideal was a promised social order in which there should be justice, peace and plenty for all. It was the ideal of a world organized on the basis of love. It is this ideal which Labor Temple has sought to preach

by word and deed, in season and out of season. It is these ideals that have permeated the life of the institution, which have in fact been the source of its life.

And another consideration may well be stressed. In all its work Labor Temple has never obscured the fact that it is a church and chiefly supported by the church. It has boldly announced that it is a propagandist institution, not in the sense of trying to make Presbyterians or even Christians in the theological meaning of the word, but in the sense that it is trying to change the attitudes of men, trying to persuade them to have in their hearts the quality of love that was in the carpenter of Galilee, trying to change our social order into the Kingdom of God. It has welcomed converts into its church life but it has never tried to force them to come in. No man, woman or child to whom another church or faith has meant anything vital has been asked to "come with us." Labor Temple has believed that at the heart of the religion of Jesus there is respect for human personality.

Finally it may be pointed out that this institution has been governed by a Committee made up half of Presbyterians and half of representatives of the groups it is seeking to reach. On this Committee are men and women, labor leaders and capitalists, conservatives, liberals and radicals,

Jews and Christians, but all have worked together harmoniously for a world based on justice and love. The Committee, or governing board, has come more and more to see that in the rapidly changing scene, which we call our modern world, it is more important to change the attitude and spirit of men than it is to gain some little temporary external reform which is likely to be lost on the morrow. Month after month this Committee has met and wrestled with the perplexing problems which have faced it. It has had to make over its physical equipment and a new building has arisen; it has felt the need of giving the best music to the people and a splendid pipe organ has been installed; it has felt the need of proper play space and thousands of dollars have been raised for a well-protected roof playground. Moreover it has wrestled long and earnestly with financial problems. Back of this Committee, but never dictating to it, has stood the Church Extension Committee of the New York Presbytery and the Board of National Missions. It would have been easy for these ecclesiastical authorities to interfere and quite within their rights but they never have. Having granted power to the Labor Temple Committee or governing board they have left it there and have done their utmost to support the work even when that work came under drastic and biting criticism. They have believed that reli-

gion had something to do with economics and they have been willing to pay for that belief.

Such in outline is the history and program and ideals of Labor Temple where in one church religion is coming to grips with the problem of modern life. Can other churches do the same? Probably not in all details for each local situation has its own peculiar difficulties but the general assertion made in every phase of Labor Temple's life —that sound economics without religion is impossible—can and should be duplicated in every church. Nor should any Christian church from now on fail to see that there can be no vital, conquering religion which does not seek to transform the economic relations of men. Through Labor Temple the churches have been helped to see that. Economics without religion is pagan; religion without economics is so unreal that it deserves the contempt of the I. W. W. song, "Eat pie in the sky, by and by when you die."

CHAPTER XI

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL CHRISTIAN

In this time of economic disaster when the keepers of the house tremble and even the strong men are bowed down the man who is honestly striving to follow the Christian way of life is puzzled and perplexed. He sincerely wants to do the right thing but it is hard to know what that right thing is. Like the lawyer of old he says, "Master, what shall I do . . . ?" Every true Christian wants to know just what he ought to do in the face of the industrial crisis which has come upon the modern world. We who count ourselves followers of Jesus of Nazareth may not be very sure as to the responsibility of the church in this field but we know instinctively that we have a personal responsibility in it. However, not many of us are clear as to just what that responsibility means in concrete and definite terms. It is quite likely that no complete and final answer can be given to a query of this kind for the diverse circumstances faced by each of us will not permit such a generalization. However, even a little

thought applied to this problem makes clear that there are a few duties laid upon every follower of the Man of Galilee. Let us point out briefly what they are.

As I write this the Welfare Council reports that there are 633,000, most of them children, in need of clothing in New York City. Millions in our great cities are without food except as it is given them by private or public charity. From 12,000,000 to 15,000,000 men and women able to work and willing to work cannot find employment. In the face of such an appalling situation there is one obvious duty which rests upon every Christian man and woman in the land. That is the duty of giving to the limit of his ability. It is easy in these days to sneer at charity and it has too often been made a cloak to cover injustice but it is terrible to contemplate the depths of human suffering without it. While the giving of the American people has not been adequate to meet the needs yet the fact is clear that the hungry have been fed and the needy have been clothed and shelter has been provided because men were unwilling to see their fellows in want. Ever since the beginnings of the Christian faith and down through the ages Christians have been taught to give for the relief of human suffering. It is probably due to this fact more than any other that a complete collapse of our civilization has not oc-

curred. In the various "Gibson Committees," "community chests," denominational relief funds and the like men and women who call themselves Christians have nobly responded. They have given liberally; and increasingly, they have given sacrificially. We can write this down as the first and most obvious duty of the Christian in the present crisis. It is our duty to give to the very limit of our ability.

However, it must be admitted that charity at its finest does not take us far toward a permanent solution of our pressing economic problem. It is but a palliative. The Christian's duty is by no means fulfilled when he practices it even to the point of sacrifice. Those searching words of Jesus reported in the Twelfth Chapter of St. Luke are addressed not only to the church but to each individual Christian as well. "When you see a cloud rise out of the west, straightway you say, There cometh a shower and so it is. And when you see the south wind blow you say, There will be heat and it cometh to pass. You hypocrites, you can discern the face of the sky and of the earth, how is it you do not understand this time?" Next to the duty of love there is no more important task laid upon the individual Christian today than that of understanding this era, of grasping the significance of this moment in human history. We are literally at the end of an epoch. For the last few

decades one of the greatest changes in all human history has been taking place. Unless that fact is known and appreciated the Christian has not even begun the task events are laying upon him today.

For the past hundred or more years a mighty revolution has been under way, a revolution far more significant than the French Revolution or the Russian. These revolutions are but ripples on the tide compared with the basic revolution which has taken place in man's way of making the goods he needs to sustain his life and give him happiness. In the last few decades and particularly in this very century men have learned how to harness the energy resources of nature. All the civilizations of the past have had to depend upon the muscular energy of man himself and the animals he domesticated. He was limited by that fact to societies whose energy consumption did not exceed 4000 K.G. calories per capita per day and which were generally far below that figure. This meant that work as hard as man could and use all the animals he could impress into his service he could not produce the goods to give every one enough. Social injustice was in a sense inevitable for if the arts and the sciences were to be developed some men must be given the leisure in which to make that development. There just wasn't enough to go round. Now, however, almost in our own lifetime the picture has com-

pletely changed. We have learned how to use the resources of nature and through our high power machinery we have in the United States today energy at our disposal equivalent to more than 150,000 K.G. calories per capita per day. We can make goods in quantities never visioned by preceding human societies. Whereas the shoemakers' guild of ancient Rome with its 7,200 members could produce 7,200 pairs of shoes in five and a half days, one of our modern shoe plants with that number of employees can in that time give us a product of 495,000 pairs of shoes. And where the ancient miller of Athens ground out a barrel or possibly a barrel and a half of flour with his two crude milling stones the modern flour mill produces tens of thousands of barrels in a much shorter working day and with a better grade of flour. Even in this very century discovery and invention have moved so rapidly that we have stepped up the installed horse power in the United States from about 70 million in 1900 to 1,026 million in 1928. In fact, right in our own lifetime, in this very generation, we have definitely passed from what Professor Simon of the University of Pennsylvania used to call the economy of deficit to the economy of plenty.

We have come into a new epoch in human history. It is now possible as it has never been possible in the past to give every man, woman and

child in this land, the material basis for the good and satisfactory life. It is the manifest duty of the Christian to understand this fact, to realize this stupendous change and to help others to realize it. And yet there is more in the present problem than the rôle of high power machinery. That is but one of the two chief elements with which we must deal. As Christians we must also understand that we have not yet shaken loose from the chains put upon us by chattel slavery. It was slavery that cut society in twain. It was slavery that divided mankind into classes. The ancient civilizations were built upon it. Feudalism took over the institution and rechristened the slave a serf. The industrial revolution took the masses into the factories and paid them wages but taught them to think of themselves as a lower order than those who owned those factories. To put it briefly, from chattel slavery the masses have inherited a social inferiority complex and the privileged have inherited a social superiority complex. It is this old, old evil of slavery that still prevents us from thinking in terms of the essential oneness of mankind. It is this old, old evil that makes it tolerable to us that the few should have much and the many little. It is this evil which has made us so complacent of the inequitable division of the profits of our high-power machinery. As Christians we need a keener real-

ization of the basic truth that biologically speaking there is little justification for thinking that the few are superior to the many in their essential worth. It was slavery that gave mankind this erroneous and fallacious view. As Christians we need to hear afresh the words of Christ, "All ye are brethren."

It is the duty of the follower of Jesus to give sacrificially to feed the hungry and clothe the naked in this hour of black distress and it is his duty also to understand the nature of the crisis now upon us. It is also his duty to do his share of the world's work. No one can consume unless some one first produces. The hours of human labor can be much shortened and they will be but still we can never have the material basis for the good life unless each one will pull his share of the load. What we have has been built up and is sustained by human labor. The only honorable and just course for each of us is to do our share of that labor, to put into the common pile something like the equivalent of what we take out of it. Needless to say there are many ways of getting out of useful labor. Some beg their way; some steal it; some have been so placed in human society that there is no sharp whip of economic necessity to drive them on. There are idlers at the top of the social scale and there are idlers at the bottom. In fact there are idlers all the way

along. Some of them are frowned upon by public opinion but unfortunately some of them are not. But, however one is placed, even though he may be able to live a life which adds nothing to the human store he cannot justify such a life on the basis of Jesus' teachings. It becomes increasingly evident that in the long run human society is not going to tolerate anyone who, able-bodied, does no labor of hand or brain. Such a one will be no more popular than the shirker in a boy scout camp today. It is, in all probability, an instinctive recognition of the essential immorality of living without work which makes so many men and women in wealthy homes determined to get out and make their own way. It is essential for anyone claiming the name of Christ to ask himself whether he is honestly paying his way, whether he is doing his share of the socially necessary work. We may well recall the injunction of the Apostle Paul, "That if any would not work neither should he eat."

However, we cannot be satisfied with merely doing our share of the work. Bare quantity is not enough. The obligation of the Christian goes further than that. He must look well to the quality. He must labor artistically. Whatever he finds to do must be done with all his might. It cannot be too often pointed out that all socially necessary work is holy work, work done unto the

Lord. The old division of work into secular and religious is an intolerable division. It makes no difference whether one be a farmer, a miner, a business man, a mechanic, an actor, a teacher, a clerk or anything else in our specialized society. Any occupation which is necessary and helpful may be God's work IF (and this if should be stressed) it is done artistically in the spirit of serving one's fellows. Once as we were travelling along a Pennsylvania road a motor car belonging to a member of our party broke down. The vacuum tank had to be repaired and it was a genuine pleasure to see the ease and deftness with which the mechanic repaired it. He knew his job. He was an artist in his line. It is entirely likely that some of these mechanics do work more acceptable unto the Lord than some of us who preach the gospel. One of the most serious indictments of the present factory system is that it condemns men to routine tasks, tasks which are monotonous and give little opportunity for artistic work, work that is creative and soul-satisfying. Nevertheless there are few tasks which the spirit of the artist cannot transform. There are few tasks which the desire to do supremely well cannot glorify. Surely there is a special obligation set upon the followers of Christ to do their work artistically, no matter what that work may be. It is for us to remember Paul's admonition to Timothy, "Study to show

thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed."

But not only must the Christian do his share of the world's work and do it well—in these days when poverty is such an ugly fact, when millions of our countrymen are almost destitute—there is another consideration which must be kept clearly in mind. It is not enough that we do our share of the work both in quantity and quality. We must not overdo our consuming. There is an obligation upon the Christian to live simply. Particularly do we in America need this reminder. Jesus taught men to value the things of the spirit. He taught simplicity of life. When other people have not the necessaries of life our right to luxuries may well be questioned. In the face of the present world tragedy there surely is an obligation laid upon us as disciples of Jesus to spend upon ourselves only that which will keep us at the highest efficiency. It is evident that each of us will apply such a standard differently, each one of us must be the judge of what we really need, but it would be an immense advance if we would at least ask the question—Do I really need this car or that radio to enable me to live the fullest life and do my utmost for my fellows?

It is a cause for rejoicing that sincere followers of Jesus are increasingly becoming sensitive about these matters. One of the best known religious

leaders in America has given up his expensive apartment and taken one that is most modest and he has done so not because of our economic crash but because he honestly believes that the Christian gospel throws upon him this obligation. Certainly simple living on the part of those who have great possessions would do much to reduce class antagonism for such antagonism arises from the wide disparity in the standard of living of those who have and those who have not.

It is the duty of the Christian in the great industrial crisis upon us to give to the utmost to help those in need. It is his duty to understand the new era into which we have come, to know why it is our millions walk the streets looking in vain for work. It is his duty to do his share of the world's work and to be a workman who needs not to be ashamed. It is his duty to live simply. But his responsibility does not stop even here. We face a vast reorganization of human society. It must and will come. It is perfectly possible to let matters so drift that the changes will come with the violent overthrow of existing governments and institutions. It may be better to get to the new day that way than not to get there at all, but the costs of that way will make the Great War seem child's play. That way will wreck the delicate industrial mechanism we have built up. It may in fact utterly destroy that magnificent ma-

chine technique which now makes it physically possible to produce enough for the needs and even the desires of men. It will unloose hatreds and passions which will make an order based on love well-nigh impossible. Because of all these dangers the Christian must fight valiantly for the new order, but he must fight with the weapons that are consistent with the ethic of love. This is going to lose him friends. It cannot be otherwise. He will put the whole strength of his life and purpose against the injustices and stupidities of the present and those who believe in that present will consider him subversive. He will not engage in violent revolution and many a sincere fighter for social justice will call him yellow and traitorous. He must be prepared to endure this scorn and contumely. He can do so because he has behind him history and the New Testament, both of which eloquently portray how ephemeral and vain are the gains won by methods of violence and hate. The Christian must be prepared to give his life for social justice, but he will battle for it always with methods which are consistent with the Kingdom of Love for which Jesus lived and died.

Translated into concrete terms this will mean that the Christian man and woman will turn aside from all methods which do not permit him to maintain an attitude of good will even toward the

sinner. He will strive to work out a technique which will make clear the wickedness of the present-day society, but which will reach the heart of those responsible for it. He will not engage in class war any more than he will engage in international war, but he will seek the more excellent way, convinced that only the way of love can give results that are sure and abiding. He will set himself against violence even when he approves of the ends for which the violence is used. He will do all in his power to foster freedom of discussion in speech and press. He will do this because he will understand that the only way to settle issues is to bring them to the bar of reason. This can never be done unless men are permitted to express the honest thoughts of their minds and hearts on the tremendous issues now facing human kind. All this will imply that he will fight valiantly for freedom of speech and press, for he will realize that this is the only alternative to violence and all its evil consequences.

In standing foursquare against violence and repression the follower of Jesus will need to go out into the arena of politics to make his ideals come true. Demanding honesty and justice in all phases of life he will do his utmost to see that honesty and justice replace the present corruption of our political life. But it seems to many of us that he must do more than this. As the understanding of

individual Christians becomes more clear they will see that the source of much of our present political corruption is to be found in the desire of great industrial interests to secure special privileges for themselves. Indeed they will probably see that it is right at this point that most of our official corruption has its origin. And then they will probably see that it is highly important to remove this ever-present desire to profit at the expense of someone else. There will come then a realization that our economic structure must be basically changed, that we must pass into some form of collectivism. In fact, it is not too much to say that society has already made that decision, although most of us are not yet aware of it. The various "Plans" for getting us out of the present mess are evidences of this. Whether it is Swope's plan, or the plan of Stuart Chase, or that of George Soule, or socialism, or communism, they all agree in envisioning planned economy. There is implicit the assertion that we must take the machine technique and use it consciously to get for all the goods necessary to human life and happiness. It would then seem to be most logical that the intelligent follower of Jesus in the 1930's would be doing all he could through political action to make real some conscious and deliberate control of our industrial structure. He would use the power of his ballot in that direction. If he is able

to find what is so much needed in this direction in existent political organizations, well and good, but if he is not able to find such a program in any of them, then he will seek to build a new party.

Such Christian political mindedness does not mean that other more direct methods may not be used also. One thinks at once of the Labor movement and the way it has battled for the industrial workers. In that connection true Christians will not be oblivious of those words of Samuel Gompers, "I have been jealous that the American labor movement should never lose its character of a great crusade for human justice." Driven by the logic of the Christian gospel as well as by the spirit of it, followers of Jesus will, we believe, participate in the labor movement as another way of bringing economic justice out of the academic and into the real. Thus both on the political and the industrial field the Christian who is really on fire with a passion for the social ideal of the Kingdom of God will find definite ways in which to work. There are political organizations and there are industrial organizations through which he can labor for his ideals. And possibly it may be added that there are various non-political religious organizations which are fighting nobly for these causes. We refer to such organizations as the Fellowship of Reconciliation, The Federal

Council of Churches, the Church League for Industrial Democracy, and others.

What then can the individual Christian do in this fearful time of economic catastrophe? He can give; he can understand; he can do his share of the work and he can do it well; he can live with becoming simplicity; he can fight for the new order with weapons consistent with the world of love he seeks to build. He can and must do these things as an individual, but most of us will need to go still further and unite with our fellows politically and industrially, that we may have the power which comes from such united action. And yet all of these things are meaningless to the Christian unless they are inspired by something far deeper, which lies at the heart of the gospel. That something is the spirit of love with which all our mighty economic and industrial problems can be solved, but without which our efforts are foredoomed to disappointment and failure. It is the Christian's paramount task, the task committed unto us by Christ, himself, to put a new spirit into the world, the spirit of brotherhood, the spirit of kindness, the spirit of understanding, the spirit of love. There is an old tradition that the Apostle John lived the longest of all the Apostles and that the brethren of the early church would again and again urge the old man to speak. He had known Jesus in the flesh and he was the last of

those who had. But the old, old man refused to say anything more than, "Little children, love one another." Over and over they urged him to tell them more about the Master and his spirit and his teaching. Finally he said, "Little children, love one another. There is nothing more." This is the gospel and he that preaches another let him be anathema. It is this which must guide our consciences today and every day as we face a world which the spirit of God is destroying that He may make it new.

CHAPTER XII

A TECHNIQUE OF PREACHING THE SOCIAL GOSPEL

If the general position outlined in this book is sound, if the Christian message is one of social redemption as well as personal, then it is of prime and immediate importance that this message be proclaimed to the millions of professing Christians in the world today. Jesus, himself, summed up the "Social Gospel" when he preached in the synagogue in his old home of Nazareth, taking as his text the words of that mighty prophet of social righteousness, Isaiah, "The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord." The problem faced by church leaders now is how to state this gospel in terms that will have meaning for the men of this day and generation. There are hundreds and probably thousands of clergymen and other Christian spokesmen who are convinced

that the message of Jesus was one of social salvation as well as personal, but who are perplexed as to just how that message can be "gotten across" to the multitude who claim the Christian name. It is not too much to say that there is as yet little technique for the preaching of the social gospel. Without an adequate technique the efforts of those who work for a more Christian industrial order are bound to be bungling and may result in complete failure. It is time that more attention were given to this matter and it is the purpose of these few pages to suggest some principles which may be helpful in getting men and women to see the social implications of the Christian message.

In the first place, it must be stated that those who would preach to the church the need of basic social change must somehow make it clear that their first interest is in the Christian message. In his searching book, "The Call of the Carpenter," Bouck White advances the thesis that Jesus was in reality an economic reformer and that he made use of religion merely as a means to an economic end. A few other writers and students have taken a similar position. But the overwhelming weight of scholarship and the whole history of the Christian church are against it. To Jesus the thought of God was central, for he quoted with the highest approval the "Hear O Israel" that the first commandment was to "love the Lord thy God

with all thy heart and all thy mind and all thy strength." It was because all men were potentially the children of God that they were to be treated always with respect and love. The approach of Jesus to the problems of men was always the religious approach. The question was always what must be done to find God and have the kind of fellowship with him which Jesus had. It is important to recognize this fact and to stress it, for those who would preach social change to the churches must make clear to them that the message brought is rooted and grounded in religion, in the kind of life and faith that was in Christ. The plea for social change must grow out of the religious message.

Failure to recognize this essential has been responsible for a good many of the casualties among preachers who have preached economic radicalism. It has seemed to their hearers that they were more interested in that economic radicalism than they were in the Christian message. The men and women in the pews often did not have the ability to debate with the preacher about his economic theories, but they knew instinctively that those theories were not the sum and substance of the Christian message. They quite naturally resented the continuous assertion that Christianity was merely an economic reform. The result almost inevitably was an ex-preacher and a lost

opportunity. The men and women in our Protestant churches have as open minds as are to be found anywhere, but they will not assent to the proposition that the Kingdom of God can be fully and completely identified with Socialism, Communism, Technocracy or any other economic ideal. It is highly important that anyone attempting to lead our churches along the path of basic economic change make crystal clear that he does so because of the demands of the Christian faith itself. There must not be any suspicion that he is attempting to use the church and religion for "the higher end" of economic change. If religion to the preacher of basic social change is but of secondary interest he will make little progress in our Christian churches. The first principle, then, of a proper technique in this field is a heart searching to discover whether religion is really primary in the mind and thought of the preacher of the social gospel. Unless religion has that primacy in the thought of the preacher he need not expect church folk to follow his leadership.

The second principle which must be embodied in any sound technique for the preaching of the social gospel may be summed up in the statement: "Have your facts straight." Too often it has been possible for critics to point out errors in statements made by churchmen. When this is done the whole case is weakened in force and authority,

even though the basic contentions may be true. The Steel Strike Report was so successful because it was detailed and documented and could not be answered except by innuendo and slander. The information service of the Federal Council of Churches has also proved most effective because it too has used the greatest care in its statements. Nothing will weaken the influence of the prophet of social righteousness quite as quickly as inaccurate statements. And on the other hand nothing will give him such power in this realm as a reputation for exactness and accuracy in his utterances. It will take more time in preparation to have chapter and verse to back up all assertions, but it will be time well spent.

Third, it must be brought home to all of us who would seek to win others to the cause of a new industrial order that our task cannot be accomplished merely by stating our own conclusions or our own feelings about it. I cannot make you enthusiastic about a sunset which I have seen merely by telling you of my thrills. I must go further and describe in imagery that really pictures it for you. No more can I bring you to my conclusions about the immorality of our present industrial system merely by telling you that such are my conclusions. I must clearly and logically set forth not the conviction but the process by which that conviction has been reached. In fact,

generally speaking the indirect approach is best. Direct propaganda, even though it be true and well intentioned, not infrequently produces irritation rather than conviction. One of the best known champions of international peace in this country today was won to that position by a colleague who day after day put before him, reading, giving in detail the evidence that wars never produced justice nor peace. In the same way the case against child labor and long hours is best made by pointing out specifically the effects of that child labor and those long hours. This is probably but another way of saying that we must not be "young men in a hurry." These changes in the thought of men take time to bring about. They can scarcely ever be produced by one address or one conversation. It is true in this field even more than in some others that it must be line upon line and precept upon precept. The great majority of men and women in our churches today have been taught to think of religion as being a purely personal matter and the message of Jesus as one solely to the individual. The wider implications of that gospel in the social order require time for their apprehension. A sound technique in promoting the social gospel requires the giving of detailed evidence and sufficient time to understand it.

A deep loyalty to the Christian faith, an unassailable factual basis, the knack of giving evi-

dence rather than conclusions—these are necessary for the successful preaching of the social ideal called the Kingdom of God. There must go with them a clear understanding of what that Kingdom of God in its broad outlines will mean. Content must be put into that generality, otherwise it will be of no help in the industrial crisis upon us. In preceding chapters we have tried to draw the outlines of that social ideal, but it will be valuable to state again that the use of the phrase "Kingdom of God" by him who has consecrated his life to the preaching of the full gospel will imply at least four basic ideas. It will imply first of all that the Kingdom of God is an earthly ideal and not merely a heavenly one. It is the ideal of a world of men and women of Christ-like character living together in a society based on love. Second, there is in it the idea of a classless society. "Call no man Master," said Christ. The social classes have grown out of human slavery and are a relic of it. They must go if the Christian ideal is to be realized. Third, there is implied in the phrase the "Kingdom of God" the idea of substantial equality in economic goods. For many of us this is a hard saying, but the early disciples saw this clearly and at various times the church has seen it too. Fourth, there is implied a change in the motive of our economic life. Today it is the profit motive which domi-

nates us and few there are who dare to trust to any other. But this at bottom is the motive of selfishness and if all or nearly all our waking hours are organized around it, it is very difficult to see how the church can win men to a gospel of unselfishness.

While it cannot be suggested that Jesus had any vision of the machine age into which we have entered when he used the words, "Kingdom of God," no exponent of the social gospel can be of much use in this present day without understanding the revolutionary significance of the shift from muscle to machine. Because of this shift the task at some points is made harder, but at some vital ones it is made much easier. The machine is so productive that goods may be made almost as free as the air we breathe. If there is an abundance for all it will be much easier to secure equality in our use of them. If through the machine all can be given the material basis for the good life, one of the greatest obstacles to comradely living will vanish. The physical solving of the economic problem opens up an alluring possibility for human nature. Once take away from a man the fear that his neighbor may deprive him of his livelihood and despised human nature will rise to new heights. Moreover the machine technique itself is a friend of that which Jesus lived and taught, the solidarity of the human race. That technique,

as no other, demands that we work together and plan together. Men must coöperate to use it successfully. They must work together in the factory and they must gear factory to factory. Nor can it stop there, for we are beginning to understand that the world itself has been made one vast neighborhood and that the nations of the world cannot find economic health as long as they view themselves as single and isolated economic units.

A fifth and final general principle may be suggested as governing the technique of proclaiming the social ideals of the gospels. It is found in the domain of the preacher's own attitude. Logically it might well have been mentioned first or as part of his general attitude toward religion and the whole Christian message. Its importance is such, however, that it can best be dealt with by itself. In a word it is this: The preacher of the social gospel must genuinely love his fellows, if he is to be effective with them. He must at times say hard things. He must at times utter unpleasant truths. He must frequently be on the unpopular side. There is all the more reason why he should make it perfectly clear how much he honestly cares for the men and women to whom he speaks. The men and women who make up the average church congregation will stand a lot of plain speech if they are convinced down deep in their hearts that their priest and prophet really loves

them. What the preacher of social righteousness has to say he should as far as possible say with a smile. He should confess his own sins as well as those of his flock. While denunciation has its place, its place should not be enlarged. Scolding should be reduced to the bare necessities of the case. It will be all the more effective if it be used but sparingly. Moreover, just because one must so frequently take the unpopular side there is the greatest reason for care about needlessly offending people. If one must be forthright and radical in the economic realm there is all the more reason for dressing conservatively. Preachers of economic change must not stand on ceremony or become "miffed." They may well take as a motto, "No compromise on principles but every compromise possible on personalities." Also, as part of this whole general attitude it is well for us to remember that the preacher of unpopular truth must do more than average work in the running of the church. He must leave no handle for those who do not like that truth to grasp and use to his undoing. Many a man who spoke the true word of the Lord and who was disliked by a few for that cause, has been removed because the Sunday School was not efficient or too little calling was done. He who would preach the social gospel must not be remiss in the ordinary duties of his parish.

Thus far we have been dealing with but one phase of the technique of preaching the social gospel. Let us turn now to concrete ways of getting the message over, the ways and means which have been found fruitful in getting men and women to yield to the social salvation that is in the Christian message.

Of course the first and most obvious method for the preacher is the sermon. The Bible is full of stories, illustrations and texts which lend themselves readily to this purpose. That is self-evident. Also many of us have found it most rewarding to approach the whole problem from the standpoint of the industrial revolution and the changes which have accompanied it. This approach has the value of being familiar to all and of being intensely interesting. It is not readily open to the charge that one is demagogic and sensational. It permits one's hearers to understand at once that the problem is deeper than that of a few malefactors of great wealth. It cannot be lightly tossed aside as an attack on capitalists or Wall Street or the bankers or somebody else. This approach makes clear the basic fact that we are all caught in the jam of our high power machinery, employees as much as employers, farmers as much as city dwellers. It brings home to all that the strength of the present oppressive system is not found so much in the oppressors as the would-be oppres-

sors, not so much in the capitalists as in the expectant capitalists.

Again the sermon can point out that the trouble is deeper than a mere lack of adjustment to our machine technique. It can and should go further and show the havoc which has been wrought in all human society by the lust for possessions and the lust for power. "You cannot serve God and Money." "The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them and they that exercise authority upon them are called benefactors but among you it shall not be so." The sermon can point out how necessary it is to banish these lusts if we are to find that God whom Jesus called "Father." It can show and should show that we never find that peace which passeth all understanding, can never really be saved until we devote our lives to the coming of that new social order Jesus called the Kingdom. What a magnificent chance the preacher of today has to point out the necessity of building and actually to help build socially minded men and women without whom no external change can get far. Moreover it may not be out of order to suggest that at times humor and kindly ridicule may be used to uproot money grubbing and the mad scramble for riches.

Another excellent approach to the problem may be made in the Sunday School. There are few today who do not realize how important it is to

train the children if anything better than their fathers had is to be secured. The social gospel can be taught in the Sunday School just as much as the personal gospel has been. In one of our Sunday Schools a class of girls made a study of candy factories and became interested in the industrial standards of them. They got in touch with the organizations trying to improve the conditions under which the employees worked. They found there was a "White List" of manufacturers who kept up to certain standards. They then discovered that their own Sunday School had been buying its candy from a factory which was not on the White List. They took this matter up with the church authorities and a change was made that very Christmas. Thus through the program of the Sunday School both the children and adults were educated in the social gospel. Increasingly there are text books and leaflets that give help to teachers and officers in teaching such social mindedness. A rightly conducted Sunday School can be made a potent force in educating for a better social order.

In addition to the sermon and the Sunday School it will often be feasible to organize study classes and forums to deal specifically with economic and social issues. A New York church organized a men's group which met weekly for the better part of a year with the avowed pur-

pose of finding out what the mind of Christ was for this machine civilization into which we have been hurled. It finally brought in a report which was adopted by both the church session and the congregation. If more churches would follow a procedure of this kind it would be far more helpful than the passing of resolutions by high ecclesiastical bodies which often are never brought before the local groups. The situation is so critical that it seems clearly the duty of every local church to have some group studying these questions and issues. In fact, it is clearly the duty of the church today to study these questions as it is its duty to study foreign missions or temperance. Some of our churches are holding Lenten schools which, for that period, study the real meaning of Christianity and how it can be applied to the problems faced in our contemporary life. All these are moves in the right direction and will have some place in any rational scheme for promoting the social gospel.

A fourth helpful way of educating for the social gospel is the discussing and passing of resolutions on these issues in ecclesiastical bodies. Sometimes these resolutions mean little and yet they do have an educational value. The social creed of the churches passed in 1910 and revised in 1932 has been of great help in educating the

laity and clergy of our churches. They have given backing to many a minister who without such backing would have found it difficult to launch out into these deeps. He has been given an authority to which he could appeal. And they have a wider value. Such resolutions have been helpful to strikers in appealing for better living conditions. They have been useful in getting better laws. They have acted as a spur and a help to Christian employers. The practical importance of church pronouncements is shown by the fact that a federal judge recently excused a student from compulsory military drill on the ground that he was a Methodist and the Methodist Church had passed resolutions which practically aligned it with the Quakers in its attitude toward war.

Nor should the minister who is consecrated to the task of achieving a Christian social order forget the incalculable value of heart to heart personal conversations. It is thus that souls are won. In such conversations points can be made and objections can be answered which would be impossible in any other manner. Reading can be suggested and in this connection it may well be added that a church library which has such books will be filling a deep need in these trying days. If there is not such a library it will often be possible for the minister himself to loan some of his books for this

purpose. Magazines may also be suggested and at times loaned in the same way.

Further, there are some churches so located that a study of industrial difficulties can be made at first hand. Some of our New Jersey churches have found themselves in difficult strike situations. It is not always easy to arrive at the true state of affairs, but there is a splendid opportunity for laboratory work in such fields. It is always possible to find out how people who live by their toil are actually living and what their incomes are. Case studies of this kind often do more for the education of the laity than any amount of merely academic study.

And finally it must be said and said with emphasis that he who would preach the social gospel must live it. By this is meant that the minister who proclaims social righteousness must exemplify it for all that in him lies. He must pay his way. He must indentify himself with those who toil. He must be sure that he is putting into the commonwealth something like what he is taking out of it. This will mean simplicity in consumption. There is no general rule which can be laid down, but the minister who is convinced of the social gospel will spend upon himself and his family only that which he believes to be necessary to his and their social efficiency. He will not judge

others but he will set a high standard for himself. He will set himself on record not merely by his word but by his deeds. He will have a keen appreciation of those words of Emerson, "What you are speaks so loudly that I cannot hear what you say."

A technique for preaching the social gospel? It is as yet far from complete. However, it is clear that he who would speak to the churches must believe in the supreme value of religion and the faith that was in Christ. He must preach a message of special and personal salvation. Useless each without the other—and false, too. He must be scrupulous about his facts. It is only truth that can win a permanent victory. He must be a propagandist but a propagandist who sets forth evidence rather than mere conclusions and assertions. He must win men as he himself was won. He must not be in a hurry. He must be concrete and definite as to what he means by the Kingdom of God. Above all he must know that in love there is power, and he must love if he is to win. He must often stoop to conquer, sacrificing petty "Rights" for the sake of eternal principles. Such must be his spirit and his attitude and his approach. With that spirit and attitude and approach he can preach sermons that will change men's hearts, he can make his Sunday School a

training for socially creative living, he can further study groups and forums for the purpose of coming to grips with the issue raised in our modern society, he can help secure the passage of ecclesiastical resolutions on these subjects, and wherever possible he can make vital contacts with Labor and the problems it faces. These definite things he can do but above all he can and must seek in his daily life and deed to show forth the power of the love and sacrifice he proclaims to others. And this be it said will inevitably raise questions about his own personal income "from whatever source derived."

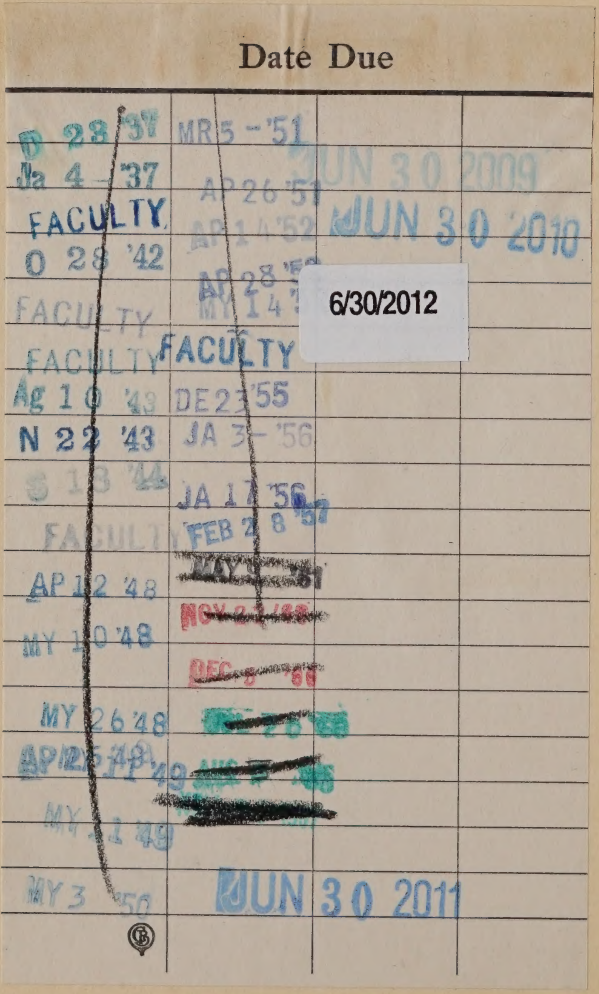
All this will mean heroism, struggle and sacrifice on the part of the prophets who have the vision. Moreover it will mean that they work quickly, for even now there are signs that our western world will slip over the abyss and the historians of the future will record that the men of the 1930's solved the economic problem on the physical side but had not the courage nor the vision to solve it organizationally. Three roads lie before us. One leads to the progressive breakdown and abandonment of our machine technique, another is the way of dictatorship and regimentation, a third offers economic salvation for the children of men. No one yet knows which it will be but it will not be the third unless the social

gospel of Christ is preached passionately, wisely and quickly. Before the preachers of it there must always be the words, "Work for the night cometh when no man can work."

CONCLUSION

It is hoped that the preceding pages have served to make clear the nature of the industrial crisis in which the world is now enmeshed and the relation of the Protestant churches and the religion they profess to it. Attempt has been made also to hammer out something of the message they must proclaim to meet it. On the whole, an optimistic position has been taken as to the part they may play in bringing in an economic order in which there shall be justice, peace and plenty. Many deeply religious men will feel that this optimism is in no sense justified. They may be right but this must be remembered—the churches are speaking out on economic matters today more than they ever have in their history. Moreover, they are supporting the peace movement with an ever-increasing zeal and with much less willingness to make the state the custodian of the conscience. And the younger men (and some of the older, too) in the Christian ministry are not afraid to stand for basic economic change. These are signs of the times. They are favorable signs but the task is great and events are moving so swiftly that the churches may be too late.

Our present industrial order, whether we call it the price system, capitalism or whatnot has failed. It has failed even though it does manage to survive this present depression. It does not get the world's work done; it does not bring human happiness. Humanity is going to try other ways. It may take the road of fascist dictatorship which in the United States would mean the open rule of the sixty or more financiers whom Mr. Gerard named as being our real rulers. It may take the road of Red revolution which in America would be a costly and bloody road with an unpredictable outcome, but with mass starvation a certain accompaniment. It may simply fumble and stumble until the magnificent machine technique is shattered beyond repair and the economic salvation which it promised be surrendered as mere illusion. But there is a chance, perhaps not more than one in ten, but a chance worth living and dying for, that the same resolute spirit which has given us our mighty technological development may solve the moral and organizational problems which have grown out of it. Whether or not this chance is grasped, as it can be in these very 1930's, will depend in no small measure upon the vision and the courage of our Protestant churches. Perchance they were called into existence for such a time as this.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